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The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea

Founded by Edward C. Hegeler

THE BUDDHIST LAMB BEARER.
A relief from Gandhara. (See pages 614-615).

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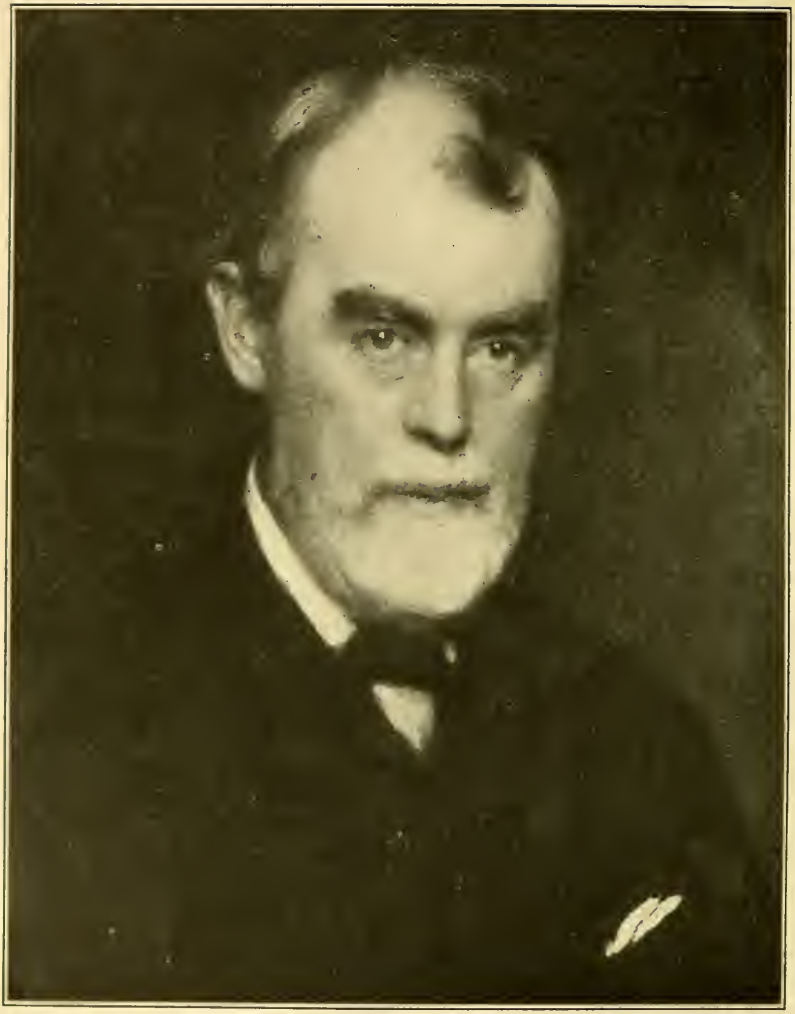

SAMUEL BUTLER IN HIS SIXTIETH YEAR.

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PRIMITIVE WAYS OF THINKING.

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO NEGATION AND CLASSIFICATION.

BY JOSIAH ROYCE.

A GREAT deal of attention has been given in recent discussion both to the history and to the psychology of the primitive intellect. In particular, much has been written concerning the early history of those mental processes which have gradually led from very crude beginnings to the development of our modern sciences. Man learned to think in ways that grew to be very elaborate long before they became very fruitful. The history of human error is far more extended than is the history of science. Yet from the outset mental processes were going on upon whose results the whole intellectual life of the civilized man has depended. The psychology of these processes forms a fascinating study, and there are two aspects of this primitive thinking which have attracted, so far, especial attention, as throwing light upon the early developments of the human mind. The first of these two aspects is suggested by the phenomena known as savage animism. The second aspect is found exemplified by the magic of early peoples.

Both animism and magic have been elaborately analyzed by students of anthropology. Their psychological motives and conditions have been extensively discussed. These two aspects of primitive thinking are, however, not the only ones which seem to me to be important as means of investigating the ways by which man learned the art of thinking about the world and about himself.

I wish, in this essay, to attract some attention to the intellectual significance of a third aspect of primitive mental life. This third

aspect has indeed been well recognized as a factor in early religion and culture. But it has usually been considered with reference rather to its ethical and religious relationships than with reference to its bearing upon the beginnings of science. I propose to consider it from the latter point of view, and to trace some of its connections with the origin of the methods of exact thought.

I.

Every modern reader of anthropology has heard of the customs and beliefs that center about the word tabu. The word itself is borrowed from the Polynesians, amongst whom tabu was so highly developed. Robertson Smith showed, however, that customs of an essentially similar character played a great part in the history of the Semitic religions. Frazer has collected a vast mass of material relating to tabus as they are found amongst the most various peoples and as they concern both the use of words and the customs connected with royal and priestly personages. At the present time so many writers have discussed the subject, that the importance of tabu as a factor in all primitive religion and custom may be regarded as generally known and as well established. Even our own more ancient customs are full of tabus, as we all know. The Polynesians were technically right when, after the missionaries came, the natives learned to call Sunday the Christian tabu-day.

The euphemisms of our speech and the forms of etiquette constantly remind us how much of the type of tabu we still retain and prize in our customs, even where the original meaning has gone out of the acts in question. Decided traces of the original meaning also survive, although perhaps in some highly idealized form, not only when we more or less superstitiously fear to mention possible evils too plainly, but also when we rationally reverence as sacred any ritual, or any altar, or even any object of private and personal devotion, and when we accordingly avoid acts that we regard as profaning the place or the form that we prize.

Tabu, then, is something very wide-spread and human in its nature. Plainly it has greatly influenced the development of conduct, of morality, and of religion. But we usually think of the savage forms of tabu as of something that, like any expression of primitive superstition, must be essentially opposed to habits of clear thinking. When an object or a place was tabu to a savage, he regarded it as the dwelling place of mysterious and dangerous powers. He was hindered, accordingly, as we very naturally suppose, from conceiving it as it really was. He was led to a false view of its

place in the world. He was prevented, by his very dread, from investigating its true nature and its literal relations.

Mr. F. B. Jevons, in his *Introduction to the History of Religion*, speaks of "the vicious circle with which tabu surrounds the savage." "The very life of tabu as an institution," says Mr. Jevons, "depends upon the success with which it forbids the appeal to experience and prevents experiments from being made." The savage, as our author points out, "dares not make the experiments which, if made, would enlighten him. Even if accidentally and unintentionally he is led to make such an experiment, instead of profiting by the experiment, he dies of fright as did the Australian slave who ate his master's dinner; or if he does not die, he is tabued, excommunicated, outlawed; and his fate in either case strengthens the original respect for tabu."

Thus tabu would appear to have been a great barrier in the way of human knowledge. Its intellectual value would so far seem to have been very small. Its true value would apparently be found, if at all, on the religious and moral side, as an education in reverence and a sort of primitive self-discipline whereby man learned self-restraint, and whereby also, as Jevons ingeniously points out, he was early led to identify his private interests with the social welfare. For since tabu was always infectious and passed from any object to the man who touched it, the dangers of violating a tabu were at once personal dangers and a menace to the whole social environment; so that thus the savage learned to think of the interest of others as being also his own.

Yet I am not disposed to admit that the value of tabu is confined to its religious, its ethical and its practically disciplinary influences. That it taught self-restraint and was a schoolmaster to lead towards a higher morality and to prepare the mind for a more ideal conception of sacredness, I fully recognize. But I also see good ground for the thesis that tabu involved a logical as well as an ethical discipline, and was a preparation for exact thinking as well as for a better ordered living. That like other superstitions it contained a "vicious circle" I fully admit. That it hindered experiment is true. But there remains to the end, in our narrow lives, a certain opposition between what trains us for the careful study of experience and what tends to develop our formally logical powers. There is no reason, then, why the very tabu which was indeed a barrier in the way of closer acquaintance with nature should not have been even from the outset a means of beginning, and even to some extent of educating, a certain formal exactness

of thinking which was, in its place, an intellectual acquisition of serious worth and of momentous consequences.

I desire then to show, so far as my fragmentary collection of the materials will permit, that the mental processes connected with tabu were of some importance in developing in man's life that tendency to sharp distinctions and to precise classifications upon which a great deal of the logical structure of our sciences now depends. In order to make out my case I shall indeed be obliged to mention other primitive beliefs and practices beside those directly connected with tabu, for these other primitive beliefs and practices, as we shall see, involve essentially the same intellectual processes, namely the processes that consist in making negative judgments, in opposing sharply one plan of action to another, in denying, in forbidding, and also in doing upon occasion the precise opposite of all these things, that is, in setting aside negations, conflicts, or prohibitions. Tabu is merely one notable case in which mental processes of this general type became prominent in primitive thought. The processes in question may be called, in general, those which are marked by a consciousness of negation. In all such processes, one says "No," and is highly conscious of the fact, and, upon occasion, is also conscious of denying his denial, of saying "No" to his previous "No." just as a New Zealander did when, by a special incantation, he removed a tabu.

Now, for the purposes of the present paper it is this mental process, this consciousness of negation, whose presence in primitive thought and whose value for the history of the human intellect I want to point out. For this same purpose I am of course little interested here in the special forms and motives of tabu as such; and so I am quite ready to class with the phenomena of tabu any other primitive activities and beliefs that were equally marked by the consciousness of negation. Accordingly, such incantations as remove a tabu interest me here quite as much as does the tabu itself. Magic formulas that are especially intended as counter-charms, whereby an opposing magician may be defeated, are phenomena that involve, for my purpose, essentially the same intellectual process as is involved in conceiving the nature of a tabu. And all omens and portents that tell you what you are *not* to do; divinations that warn you by means of lucky and unlucky numbers, days, or constellations; amulets that guard against evil influences: all these for my purpose are phenomena of primitive thinking that belong, as far as their crude logic is concerned, in the same general class with the phenomena of tabu.

I propose then to show that in the case of all these types of phenomena mental processes were involved which had a very real value as beginnings of a sort of thinking upon which our later exact sciences depend. I mention tabu first among the types in question because of its especially marked and interesting character. I shall, however, freely use the other types just referred to whenever they prove helpful.

II.

Let me begin my list of instances of the relations between the primitive consciousness of negation and more advanced scientific thinking by citing a curious remark that appears in an old Greek scholion on Euclid's geometry. The scholion in question is attributed to Proclus. It certainly is due to some late Greek thinker who knew about Pythagorean traditions.[1] This commentator was writing about that theorem of Euclid's tenth book which demonstrates the incommensurability of the side and the diagonal of a square. And in order to make clear the force of what the scholion says, I must first briefly state the contents and the proof of that theorem. It was the expression of an early and a very remarkable result of Greek geometry which Euclid merely repeats in his treatise on geometry. The theorem had been discovered by some early member of the Pythagorean school, at a time which may not have been much later than 500 B. C.

If you draw any square on paper, and then draw a diagonal in the square, and next erect upon that diagonal a new square, it is not very difficult to make out, even by the use of mere inspection, that this square erected upon the diagonal is precisely twice the area of the original square. For a modern student, accustomed to our own arithmetical methods, the road is hereupon not long to the conclusion that if the side of the square is regarded as of unit length, i. e., is a foot or any other unit in length, then the diagonal has a length equal to the square root of two times this unit. Now the square root of two is what we all learn in our elementary arithmetic to call an irrational or surd expression. You can, as they say, compute this square root of two approximately to any number of decimal places, but you cannot express its value exactly by any decimal fraction, however numerous be the decimal places that you use, nor can any fraction with a whole number for its numerator and a whole number for its denominator be made precisely equal to the square

[1] My citation is made from Moritz Cantor's *Geschichte der Mathematik* (1st ed.), Vol. I, p. 155 et seq. Cf. also Benno Kerry, *System einer Theorie der Grenzbegriffe*, p. 141.

root of two. The square root of two is therefore no rational fraction. We moderns have learned to give it a place in our system of number as what we call an irrational fraction, so that we may say that the diagonal of a square has, when compared with the side of the same square, a relation to that side which only an irrational number can express.

We can also state the same result by saying that the diagonal and the side of the square are *incommensurable*. That is, no common unit could be found which would be contained a whole number of times in the side of the square, and which would then be exactly contained some whole number of times in the diagonal. Seek for such a common measure, by dividing the side of the square into a great number of parts, say into a million or a billion of parts, and by then selecting one of them as your proposed measure. This new unit would go into the side of the square a definite whole number of times, a million or a billion as the case may be. But when applied to the diagonal, and taken a sufficient whole number of times, it would always either fall short of the length of the diagonal or else would exceed that length. Never, by whatever whole number you might multiply it, would it yield a length precisely equal to that of the diagonal.

Now this remarkable property of the diagonal and side of any square, namely that they are of incommensurable lengths, was what the early Pythagorean geometer discovered. Only, since the early Greeks lacked our highly developed system of decimal and other such fractions, and had yet to learn what could be meant by the conception of the square root of two, our geometer had to make his discovery in a much more primitive way than is needed by a modern student. Yet his reasoning was highly exact, and it forms a classic instance of the sort of proof called the *reductio ad absurdum*. We know through Aristotle[2] that the proof later given by Euclid was the one that this early Pythagorean must have used. He reasoned thus:

First, as he showed, the square on the diagonal is in area precisely twice the original square. He then proceeded by saying: Suppose that the diagonal and the side of the square were commensurate, that is, suppose that there existed some common unit of length so small that it was exactly contained a whole number of times in the side, and a certain other whole number of times in the diagonal of the square. Let the whole numbers in question be any that you please, let us say s for the number of times that the supposed unit

[2] Anal. Prior., I, 23. See Cantor, *loc. cit.*

was contained in the side of the square, and d for the number of times that the same unit was contained in the diagonal of the square. Then the side would be s units long, and the diagonal would be d units long. The ratio of their lengths would then be expressed by the improper fraction d/s. This fraction we could now suppose to have been first reduced to its lowest terms. In other words, we could suppose our common unit so chosen that d and s might be whole numbers that have no common factors. The area of the original square would hereupon be equivalent to s^2 units of surface. The area of the square constructed on the diagonal would be d^2 units of surface. Meanwhile the numbers s^2 and d^2, being the squares of whole numbers, would themselves of course be whole numbers; and because the square described upon the diagonal is twice the original square, the number d^2 would be equal to precisely twice the number s^2. All this follows at once upon supposing that the whole numbers d and s exist.

It follows also of course, that the number d^2, being twice another whole number s^2, must be an even number. But if d^2 is an even number, it is certain that d itself is also an even number. For it is not hard to see that the squares of even numbers are even, while the squares of odd numbers are odd. Hence d, if it exists at all, is an even number. Consequently s, which by hypothesis has no factor in common with d, must be an odd number. This is our first result. It follows directly from the relations between the two squares.

But now, on the other hand, since d, if it exists at all, is an even number, it must be twice some other number. Let us call this new number n. Then d is equal to twice n. Hence d^2 is equal to four times n^2. But, once more, since the square on the hypothenuse is twice the original square, d^2 is twice s^2, and hence, since d^2 is now equal to four times n^2, it follows that $4n^2 = 2s^2$. Hence s^2 is equal to one-half of $4n^2$, or is equal to $2n^2$. But $2n^2$ is twice the whole number n^2. Hence $2n^2$ is an even number. Hence, however, s^2, which equals $2n^2$, is an even number. Thus, by this reasoning, it follows that s^2, and consequently it also follows that s, is an even number.

We have now shown that if our original hypothesis is true, that is, *if* there exists a common measure for the side and the diagonal of the square, then the same number, s, which measures the length of the side of the square, must be both an odd number (since d is even), and an even number (since its square is equal to twice the square of that whole number n, which is half the even number

d). But that the same whole number *s* should be both even and odd, is an absurd and self-contradictory result. It accordingly follows that the whole numbers *s* and *d* cannot exist at all, for if they did exist, both of them would be even, and both of them would be odd. Hence the diagonal and the side have no common measure.

I have dwelt upon this early instance of exact thinking, because it shows clearly in what exact thinking consists. Our geometer discovered the geometrical existence of a new and wonderful sort of relation between the lengths of lines. He discovered that there were two lengths which had no common measure so that no numerical fraction could possibly express their ratio. In discovering this relation, he discovered, in effect, a new class of magnitudes, namely the irrational magnitudes. He discovered this by finding that there was something which you could not, must not, hope to do with the diagonal and the side of a square, that is, you must not hope to find for them any common measure; and he proved this by a *reductio ad absurdum*. If you supposed them to have a common measure, you would be infallibly led to define the same whole number as both odd and even, which is a contradiction.

Now a *reductio ad absurdum* is a sort of exact and rational equivalent, in the scientific realm, of a tabu in the realm of the savage. It is a means of discovering that there is something which you must not do, in the way of assertion. And the penalty is the self-destruction of the thought which undertakes to violate the logician's tabu.

So far then for the early Greek geometer. Now for the scholiast. "They say," declares Proclus in his commentary on Euclid, "that he who first brought the consideration of the irrational out of the hidden place into public notice, lost his life in a shipwreck, and this was because the unspeakable, and unimaginable ought to remain forever hidden. They say that he who thus accidentally touched this image of life, and removed from it the screen, was carried away to the place of the Mothers, and there remains while everlasting floods play around him. Such reverence these men (who narrate this) had towards the theory of the irrational."

One sees here the reverse side of the picture. The early geometer reveals the existence of the irrational. What he discovers is indubitable; but to ancient thought it nevertheless remains something mysterious, baffling, comprehensible only in a negative sense through a *reductio ad absurdum*. He approaches it in a scientific spirit. He consequently reveals the mystery to the vulgar. All can henceforth see that irrationals do exist. Yet none, as the Greeks

think, can comprehend how they exist. But this man is a member of the Pythagorean school, a company in which many traces of primitive superstition survive. The school invents the tradition that this rash profaner of the mysteries of the world of quantity came to a violent end, and now is condemned in the other world to a very stormy sort of immortality. Why? Obviously because, in revealing such a mystery to the vulgar, he violated a tabu.

The spirit of the most exact science, and the soul of the most primitive superstition here come into close historical contact. The geometer translates, as it were, the rational sense that lay beneath even savage tabu into exact terms. Tabu forbids you to touch certain things, and thereby separates those very things into a mysterious and unapproachable class by themselves. The geometer, even so, finds or creates his new class of objects, namely the irrational magnitudes. These he finds to be mathematically separate from all the rational magnitudes. He does so by discovering a cause why you dare not, upon pain of self-contradiction, undertake to measure the irrational in rational terms. What primitive thought had blindly felt as a tendency to forbid acts, and thus to separate objects from other objects, the geometer's *reductio ad absurdum* now turns into an exact mode of clear and thoughtful procedure, applicable henceforth in the whole realm of exact thinking. This rational tabu of the *reductio ad absurdum* is still our most powerful instrument of thinking upon some of the highest levels of research. But, on the other hand, this very deed of the geometer in discovering a class of objects thus marked off from the rest of the world of magnitudes, reminds his mystically disposed fellows in the Pythagorean school all too strongly of the primitive meaning of tabu, for he not only discovers this mysterious class of objects; he reveals the fact. So wonderfully separate a class of objects ought however to have remained hidden in its primal mystery. The discoverer touches, as it were by accident, a sacred thing. Hence he must have died soon and must have gone to a becoming place.

A certain historical connection is thus suggested between the motives that lead to scientific classifications, separations and prohibitions, of the most exact and rational kind, and the motives which, upon lower levels of human intelligence, take form in irrational tabus. That this connection may have a deeper meaning, one begins to think as one reflects upon the whole influence and history of the Pythagorean school.

A partly religious, partly political, partly scientific company, the Pythagoreans show many signs of having been influenced by

numerous primitive ideas, and of having combined these with highly elaborate tendencies to ingenious thoughtfulness. The life of the Pythagorean order is frequently represented as one of elaborate restraints and of a negative strictness of behavior. The prohibition against eating beans which is attributed to the master is traditionally founded upon motives that are precisely identical with those known as a familiar reason for many savage tabus. Pythagoras himself is sometimes said to have dealt with magic. Certainly his school tended towards the cultivation of numerous very ancient religious ideas and practices, and was fond of a practical separation from the world. Yet this same school was of all the early Greek schools the most disposed to formal classifications of objects and of categories.

The Pythagoreans used the simple and precise classifications which the elementary theory of numbers suggests, as symbols of the classifications of reality. The method was at once fantastic and formal. Pythagorean science was rooted in superstition and in mathematics. It suggests to us, therefore, one of the ways in which the transition was made from the one to the other.

III.

I turn from the special instance to a wider survey of the phenomena of tabu. It is plain at a glance that every tabu involved a classification, a mentally conceived and practically observed separation of certain objects from certain other objects. This separation was often emphasized by erecting barriers between that which was the locus of a tabu, and the rest of the world. The most familiar facts regarding sacred places, regarding temples, the vicinity of altars, sacred tracts of ground, and the equally familiar isolation of sacred persons such as kings and priests—all more or less elaborately illustrate this principle. An object is sacred; that is, there is some act which I might naturally perform in its presence but which I must not perform. This consciousness of the need of inhibition and of self-restraint in presence of the object serves of itself to mark off the object as a member of a special class. This fact, owing to its great importance, I tend to emphasize. The artificially added signs, the various material reinforcements of this separation between the object and its environment are most significant. The more such material marks are added to the object, the more impressive becomes the very fact of its sacredness. The result is a sort of circular process: tabu leads to additional physical devices for keeping the object sacred; the devices increase the tabu. This process, when

reinforced by the ideas belonging to the realm of sympathetic magic, may lead to very impressive results. Since, as we have seen, the sacred object tends to infect with the consequences of its sacredness anything that is or that has been in contact with it or that even has come to be in any too interesting way mentally associated with it, it may have to be hidden, and as far as possible kept isolated altogether. To see it might be to die. Its name may become as much tabu as the object itself is; and so on indefinitely. Frazer, in the *Golden Bough*, cites numerous instances of the results of this process in case of royal and of princely persons, who were so often of very highly sacred character.[3] One classic instance is the separateness in which the Mikado used to be kept in Japan. As Frazer cites from the words of an old traveler in Pinkerton's *Voyages,* the Mikado in the seventeenth century must not touch the ground with his feet, nor go out into the open air, nor permit the sun to shine upon him. At a still more ancient time, according to tradition, he used to have to sit immobile for hours together upon his throne so as to preserve the stability of his kingdom, and for fear of injuring his dominions by looking too long towards a province upon one or another side of himself.

Similar phenomena are very frequent in case of magicians. A New Zealand tradition which I find in the semi-official work called *The Ancient History of the Maori,* edited by Mr. John White of Auckland,[4] gives us a very good impression of what personal sacredness used to mean amongst these highly thoughtful and tabu-ridden savages. The story is told in the words of a Maori narrator of the traditions of his tribe, and relates to some long past time:

"This man Kiki (the name means stutterer) was a brave man, and was a wizard also. He was of the Wai-kato people, and his home was in that district; and this is the proverb repeated by his descendants: 'The descendants of Kiki, the tree-blighter.' The origin of this proverb was from the fact that when the sun shone Kiki would not go out of his house, lest if he walked abroad his shadow would fall on grass and trees, and by his shadow such would become sacred. But his shadow made such to wither. Kiki had a supreme knowledge of witchcraft, so he remained in his house and seldom left it. When canoes from the upper Wai-kato paddled down the river, going towards the sea, if such landed at the settlement of Kiki, he did not come out of his house, so that

[3] See *Golden Bough,* Vol. I, Chap. II: on the Mikado, p. 234 f.; on other royal and priestly tabus, pp. 319-450.

[4] See Vol. V, pp. 58-59.

by his presence they might not be killed; but if he drew back the slide-door of his house, and looked out at any visitors who might land, such would invariably die at once. The fame of Kiki was heard all over the country."

The story then proceeds to narrate a conflict in the art of witchcraft between this Kiki and a certain Tamure, a wizard of another place who, as the result proved, controlled more powerful spells, and who visited Kiki to test their respective grades of skill. The result was rendered harmless to the visitor by reason of the incantations at his disposal. But Kiki died of chagrin and witchcraft.

Now this disposition to regard sacredness as necessitating numerous devices for insuring the physical separateness of sacred objects and persons, tended to connect whatever interests, practical or theoretical, any barriers, or walls, or enclosures, or geographical boundaries might have for a savage, with whatever superstitions might lead him to believe in a tabu. Thus then, for the first, physical contrasts and isolations, wherever they were of some portentous sort, might suggest a tabu. So in the case of sacred mountains. So in the case of sacred oases of the desert of which Robertson Smith speaks.[5] The jinn of the Arabs haunt especially "the dense untrodden thickets that occupy moist places in the bottom of valleys." These places are of course very dangerously sacred, that is, sacred to hostile supernatural powers, and not merely sacred as the sanctuary of a friendly tribal god may be.

The origin of the evil reputation of such places amongst the Arabs, Robertson Smith attributes to the frequency with which they were the haunts of wild beasts, of whom he believes the jinn to be the supernatural representatives. On the other hand, a tabu once originating in any way, might serve to aid in defining a boundary line. In this second class of cases, the value of sacredness as a means of establishing geographical distinctions as well as political distinctions in a very primitive society, appears in an interesting form in the following instance, which is reported by the Rev. Wm. Wyatt Gill in his *Myths and Songs of the South Pacific*.[6] The facts are reported regarding Mangaia, in the Hervey group of islands, a small cluster of islands lying near 160° W and near 20° S in the Pacific.

"The formation of Mangaia," says Mr. Gill, "is remarkably hilly. In the middle of the island is a hill, half a mile long and 250

[5] *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 98, 123 ff.

[6] Pp. 128 ff.

feet wide, named *Rangimotia,* or 'center of the heavens,' from which lesser hills branch out on every side. This central hill was considered very sacred in the olden time." Mr. Gill then mentions how the hill was formerly used as a place for binding a sacred girdle upon warriors who were about to set out on secret expeditions. A chief who once proposed to violate the sacredness of the hill lost thereby his chieftainship. The reason for the sacredness of the hill is that a god, *Te-manara-roa,* "the long-lived one," lies buried there, face downwards. The main hill is his back. A depression to the east of it is his neck. His head is beyond the depression, pointing towards sunrise. His legs and arms are clearly marked by lesser ranges of hills. Now these arms and legs as well as the head of the god serve to mark off the different districts into which the island is divided. The divisions in question are named after their relation to the parts of the long-lived one's body. A custom as to the division of large stranded fishes or of stranded whales whose ownership might be likely to be a topic of dispute amongst the various tribes, was founded on the relation of the tribes to the long-lived one's body. Thus the head of the fish went to the chiefs of the tribes who lived beneath the god's head; the middle to the chiefs of the tribes who lived beside the god's back; the tail went to those who lived at "the sunsetting." At great feasts, etiquette required the names of the six chiefs to be called in a fixed order, determined by the same relations to the sacred landmark. Thus jealousies as to precedence were avoided.

Now it would indeed be far from my present intention to make tabu directly responsible for all or even for any great part of the origin of the conceptions of boundary lines, and of other distinctions relating to property rights, whether these were the boundaries of countries or of private possessions. On the other hand, there can I suppose be no doubt but that religious and superstitious motives of various kinds, such as had to do either directly with sacredness, or else with prohibitions and negations of other supernatural kinds, were powerful auxiliaries in the development of a consciousness of the meaning of tribal, national and personal possessions, rights and boundaries. And what I want to illustrate is the psychological value of tabu as an aid in bringing boundaries to clear consciousness.

To illustrate then still further. For the Semites the tribal or national god was the owner of the whole land.[7] His tabu then in

[7] Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites,* pp. 91-ff. Strangers and even victorious invaders in a land found themselves obliged to respect the tabus of the local god.

a sense defined the limits of the land. The tabu of a Polynesian chief protected his property and his dwelling from intrusion. The same holds true of course of the magicians of the type just described. More general references appear in many of the Maori stories to various thefts of property as violations of tabus.[8] The sacredness of landmarks, by which a boundary is preserved, is a known feature, recognized in the laws of various peoples. The Deuteronomic legislator of the list of curses, in Chapter 27 of that book, includes amongst his prohibitions, enforced by direct divine penalty, the well-known: "Cursed be he that removeth his neighbor's landmark." In the boundary disputes between villages which appear to form so important a part of the legal procedure of Hindu country districts, religious sanctions play a very natural part. According to one authoritative account of the older customs, witnesses are called in from the neighborhood to decide the dispute. Their testimony is given under circumstances of especial ceremonial solemnity. The chosen witnesses wear red garments, have red crowns on their heads, also throw earth on their heads, and march to the boundary, which they declare. Thereafter one waits a certain time to see whether these witnesses to the boundary meet with some mishap, or die. In this case their decision is regarded as set aside by divine interference.[9]

Such are a few of the indications of the part that supernatural prohibitions and dangers have played in aiding men to define or to render precise their conception of property-divisions and rights. Once more then tabus aid the consciousness of the distinctions and relations of classified objects.

IV.

The relation of tabu to the origin and development of the conception of social classes is obviously great, although here again it would be no part of my thesis to attribute to supernatural prohibitions the principal place amongst the complex motives that lead to social differentiation. I only insist that tabu not only helped to classify society, but also (and this is my principal point) helped early races of men to become vividly conscious of their own social classifications. When a social distinction was for any reason already

[8] So, for instance, in the tale of Puhi-huia and Ponga, in White's *Ancient History of the Maori*, Vol. IV, p. 125, where the sacredness of the material property of one's host is compared to the sacredness of the person of a woman of high rank, to whom one of lower rank must not make love.

[9] See Jolly, in the *Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und Alterthumskunde*, Bd. II, Heft 8, "Recht und Sitte," p. 95.

recognized, it often suggested a tabu. This in its turn emphasized and helped to make clear the conception of the social distinction. On the other hand, an already existing tabu might create a new social class by giving rise to the very idea of that class.

Thus the relations of the sexes were profoundly influenced in primitive life by numerous tabus. These related to the period of the initiation of the youth into the tribe, to the conditions of relationship or of tribal affinity which made marriage permissible or which excluded it, and to the relations of each partner in marriage to the relatives of the other, to the incidents accompanying childbirth, and to many other matters, both when these were socially important, and when, from our point of view, they seem unimportant. The whole subject is a complex one, which has been much discussed. I can here only say that supernatural prohibitions of the most varied kind, as well as prohibitory customs that we can only conjecture to have been in their origin tabus, had much to do with making definite the relations of the sexes and the organization of the family. The moral value of the results does not here concern us. I point out that the whole process had its intellectual aspect, and that definite social concepts seem to have often been first formulated in this way, by means of prohibitions whose origin was superstitious.

Tabu also influenced in some degree the formation of castes. This is evident from the facts already reported in the case of priests and of chieftains and kings. In India, where the process was destined to go so far, it was at every step attended by elaborate prohibitions, whereby the castes were, and to-day are, kept separated from one another. It is not unnatural that in the older literature the sacredness of the Brahman class is especially emphasized by threats of supernatural vengeance against whoever interferes with the Brahman's property. In the Atharva Veda, my colleague Professor Lanman has pointed out to me the hymns in the fifth book of that ancient scripture which recite the curses invoked upon any prince who takes away a Brahman's cow. The hymns in question belong to an early and comparatively simple stage of Hindu civilization. The cow is treated as a sort of representative of all the Brahman's sacred personal possessions. The hymns are addressed to princes and to other powerful persons:

"The Gods, O Prince, have not bestowed this cow on thee to eat thereof.
Seek not, Rajanya, to devour the Brahman's cow which none may eat.

A base Rajanya, spoiled at dice, and ruined by himself, may eat
The Brahman's cow, and think, To-day, and not to-morrow let me live!
The Brahman's cow is like a snake, charged with dire poison, clothed with skin.
Rajanya! bitter to the taste is she, and none may eat of her.
She takes away his strength, she mars his splendor, she ruins everything like fire enkindled.
That man drinks poison of the deadly serpent who counts the Brahmanas mere food to feed him.

* * *

The fool who eats the Brahman's food and thinks it pleasant to the taste,
Eats, but can ne'er digest, the cow that bristles with a hundred barbs.

* * *

They who themselves ten hundred, were the rulers of a thousand men
The Vaitahavyas, were destroyed for that they ate a Brahman's cow."

The inspired seer who composed these lines, continues at what to us seems surprising length, to set forth the further consequences of any disrespect to the Brahman's property or person. The Brahman's insulters, in the next world, "sit in the middle of a stream running with blood, devouring hair." As to the very insistent cow herself, we learn repeatedly that "terrible is her cutting up." "She grows eight-footed, and four-eyed, four-eared, four-jawed, two-faced, two-tongued, and shatters down the kingdom of the man who doth the Brahman wrong."

The interest of this eloquence lies, for us, in the fact that it occurs early in the history of caste, and is addressed not to common folk, but to rulers, to kings, and to men of the warrior caste in general. But at that time these were plainly a social class not only powerful but in their way highly intelligent. The priestly teacher plainly has a hard task to impress upon them the true class-distinctions. He shows accordingly how such distinctions have to be taught to unwilling pupils, namely by the portentous logic of the tabu.

V.

I turn from social distinctions to the primitive classifications of external natural objects, and to the classifications and arrangements

of acts that had to do with the various arts of primitive man. The ceremonial of agriculture is well known amongst all peoples. It has to do with the organization of the activities of those who plant crops, who care for them, and who reap the fruits. On this side it is an expression of what man has positively learned about the laws of the life of cultivated plants. In addition, it is much influenced by notions derived from sympathetic magic. But finally—and this concerns us here—it is also marked by the presence of tabus, and of incantations and other ceremonies to remove these tabus at a proper time. As for the presence of the tabus, they are especially connected with that anxiety about all kinds of live things, and with that peculiar interest about the fortunes of food, which everywhere appears in primitive life. The three early arts of war, of hunting and of agriculture, almost equally tend to be influenced in their details by tabus, and by a concern about omens and portents which expresses the savage sense of the importance and the doubtfulness of these enterprises. And as to food, it is peculiarly likely to be infected by any contact with or relation to tabued objects. As the results are poisonous to the eater of the food, one is constantly on his guard against them, up to the very moment of beginning to eat. A final incantation at the beginning of a meal is therefore needed to remove the last tabu from the food. And this custom it is, I suppose, which survives in civilized religious life in the saying of grace. It is not strange, therefore, that the growth of food-plants is subject to tabus from planting to harvest-time. In Mr. Walter William Skeat's *Malay Magic*[10] there is an elaborate account of the ceremonies attending the planting and the cutting of rice in the Malay states. These ceremonies are concerned in part with the establishment or with the removal of tabus, although sympathetic magic plays a large part.

But my interest here lies in the fact that in a sufficiently primitive state of agriculture the tabus and the incantations, whose origin of course lies not in knowledge but in superstition, may be so united with one's observation of the laws of life that the tabus act somewhat as rules of farming would do on a higher level of civilization, helping one to plant and harvest at the right time and to take good care of the crop when harvested.

The ancient Maoris had one food-plant which they very greatly prized, the *kumara* or sweet potato. They also cultivated and stored fern-root for food. Both plants had their types of sacredness. But the kumara was the more important in the New Zealander's eyes.

[10] London, 1900, pp. 230-249.

Ancient and bitter quarrels existed amongst the tribes as to the historical question, whose tribal canoe had first brought over the kumara to New Zealand at the time of the legendary migration of the fathers from the island called Hawaiki, whence, as they all said, they had come. Well, there was of course a month for the planting of the kumara. If one may judge by the words of an incantation attributed to the demi-god Maui, this was a matter about which practices had somewhat varied in the foretime. Maui seems to say that it is forbidden to plant the kumara in certain months which actually were sometimes used. In any case, he taught incantations which bore upon this proper planting time, and which were sung by the planters. The gathering and storing of the crop were attended by special incantations, intended to remove tabus. But all these customs were of course expressive of natural laws, uniformities and distinctions.

There was also an ancient tabu against the storing of kumara and fern-root together in the pits in which the Maori kept his food. As the kumara was sweet while the fern-root had a pungent and bitter taste and formed a decidedly astringent diet, this classification might seem to us natural enough. But the Maori emphasized and justified it by elaborate references to tabus, to ancient history, and to the gods. In fact both the kumara and the fern-root were themselves anciently gods, children, like other gods, of the pair Rangi and Papa, Heaven and Earth.[11] There was an ancient enmity between the two plants. There is a story of a fight between them in which the kumara was slain. The fern-root, in any case, came to be associated in some way with the god of war. In consequence, the fern-root was ordained to be the food in time of war. On the other hand, the kumara was the food for times of peace. As thus sacred to peace, it was often used to establish a destructive tabu against the war parties of an enemy. "When an enemy is on the way to attack a *pa*" (that is a stockaded Maori settlement), says one of Mr. White's native informants, "the inhabitants of the *pa* take some kumara and place them on the road over which the enemy will come to attack them." They then chant proper incantations and leave the kumara there. The result is that the war party of the enemy, on reaching the sacred place, become panic-stricken and flee. A consequence of this custom was, however, as another informant explains, that "war parties were careful not to travel over old roads or common tracks when on a war expedition."

[11] Cf. as to these matters, White, *Ancient History of the Maori*, Vol. III. pp. 97-104; 112-115.

In fact, as one sees, it was a poor tabu which could not work both ways, and of course such strategems on the part of the assailing war party as the avoidance of well traveled paths, could be justified by other considerations of the warlike art than those dependent upon the tabu. Yet the tabu helped to bring even these strategems to consciousness. Meanwhile, it was indeed plain that so sacred a food, and one so fatal to war parties, must be sharply sundered in the storing-pits from the fern-root of the god of war. It was also not surprising that one of the original canoes in which the fathers came from Hawaiki was capsized when near the New Zealand shore because some one of the crew had rashly attempted to carry fern-root in the same canoe with the kumara. One of the old legends told at length how the effects of this mishap were counteracted by the voyagers.

Thus one sees how, in primitive agriculture, and in dealing with questions of diet, natural classes of important plants, and of foods whose taste and dietetic value were contrasted, came to clear consciousness as distinct objects in connection with tabus. Here, once more, tabu was a schoolmaster, to teach the beginnings of clearer thinking about natural laws and classes.

VI.

As I said at the outset, tabu is not the only form which the consciousness of negation takes in the primitive mind. Omens, portents, and warnings are known to all early peoples. Psychologically viewed, they are closely allied to tabus, and to the incantations which remove tabus. They are signals which, for some reason, arouse the consciousness of "yes" or "no" in the presence of a situation wherein either an expectation or a course of action has been so far in doubt. While the tabu is a sort of categorical imperative, the omen or warning gives rather a sort of hypothetical counsel. Sometimes, to be sure, the omen portends the fatal event, which your will can in no wise alter. But if your choice is still in question the omen is likely to have a wider range than the tabu, a range either for interpretation or for choice. Thus the eclipse is a bad omen either for the assailants or for the defenders in the contest now going on,—but for whom? One day is unlucky if you propose to go on a journey; but it may be a safe day for you if you devote yourself to work at home. If you look at the moon over the right shoulder, the omen is good. If you look over the left shoulder, beware. Meanwhile, omens pass over into tabus by insensible stages. Friday is a day when you must not attempt any-

thing new or important. This is equivalent to a tabu. Upon no occasion may thirteen sit down at table. Here again is a tabu. But the omen may be wholly ambiguous: If Croesus begins the war, a great kingdom will be destroyed.

In any case, however, one who considers omens is balancing alternatives, "yes" or "no." In doing this he is closely scrutinizing objects; and consequently (here is the mentally important feature), he is *classifying the signs that the objects give him.* Hence the preference of all who use divinations for a progressively more and more elaborate division and classification of objects. As divination usually is accompanied by the use of magic, it leads to an elaborate classification of the spells and charms employed to combat the effect of evil omens. As to what classifications thus appear in consequence of the study of omens, they in the first place have to do with the actions of the seeker for signs himself. Movements to the right and movements to the left, and all sorts of motor antagonisms such as are suggested by the "yes" and "no" antagonism of the good and evil omens, take part in the formation of the ideas of how to counteract the effect of evil, or to obtain good ends. How elaborate the ideas and devices of one using spells may become, and how full they may be of thoughts regarding the manner of opposing one spell by another, so as to say "no" to the enemy, we can see in the hymns of the Hindu Atharva Veda. Here we find numerous spells intended to counteract the spells of evil or of hostile magicians. They show how elaborate a form the persistent consciousness of negation or of opposition tends to give the mind of one who is beset by the idea of saying "no" to evil omens, and to the incantations of opponents:

"Back on the wizard fall his craft,
upon the curser light his curse!
Let witchcraft like a well wheeled car,
roll back upon the sorcerer.

"Go as a son goes to his sire;
bite as a trampled viper bites.
As one who flies from bonds, go back,
O witchcraft, to the sorcerer."

Expressions of this sort indicate the form of thought which, to speak in Kantian terms, is imposed upon phenomena by the consciousness of the magician with his opponent. The world becomes to him full of opposing paths, processes, devices. All the classifications that in later religious life come to distinguish black from white magic, saving faith from devilish arts, orthodoxy from heresy, the

authoritative anathema of the church from the malignant curses of the enemy, are founded in a consciousness of negation of the type thus exemplified. The imprecations of certain Psalms of the Old Testament are expressions of a similar stage of religious consciousness. By such invocations of negative spells and judgments upon the opponent, early ideas of certain important distinctions become clear; and here, once more, the fury of the contending priest is a preliminary stage to the calmly rational clearness of the *reductio ad absurdum*.

Yet not only is a clearer self-consciousness prefigured and in part educated through such processes; a clearer consciousness of the structure of the natural world is aided by the search which the interpreter of omens makes for the positive and negative signs that the world is to show to him. The Polynesians used a rude sort of instrument that sometimes looked like a very rough mariners' compass with the needle omitted.[12] This had marks of some sort, such as holes cut in a calabash, to correspond to our points of the compass. The points were named after the various winds, of which the Maoris distinguished eight and other islanders who voyaged more constantly, still more. Now this instrument, when viewed in its literal aspect, was a sort of memorandum of the various winds, and a means, after the direction of the wind had once been observed, to keep the course which one was steering during a canoe voyage in a constant relation to the wind. But the consciousness of the Polynesian conceived the meaning of the instrument otherwise. To his mind it was a device for securing favorable winds by means of incantations. Having thus classified the winds, one applied the instrument in practice by stopping the various holes which represented the unfavorable winds, by leaving open the hole for the favorable wind to blow through, and by then pronouncing the proper incantations. Here once more the magic arts of forbidding and permitting taught the voyager to observe closely, and to classify sharply the facts of nature.

The relations of positive and negative omens and spells to the beginnings of exact science are obvious enough in a vast range of other and very familiar phenomena. Charts, diagrams and sacred instruments used for purposes of divination and for the ordering of ceremonies to produce counter-charms, are found all over the world. They tend, especially as culture grows complex, towards a type of structure of which chess boards, magic squares, astrological dia-

[12] Gill, *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*, pp. 319-322. Similar instruments seem to be in question, from time to time in White's accounts.

grams, the list of the signs of the zodiac, tables of sacred names, calendars, and other tabular forms furnish a sufficient reminder. If my space permitted, it would be easy to present an impressive array of such objects at this point; but my present purpose lies in indicating their psychical origin, and in pointing out their common character and their value for the development of exact conceptions. All such tables, as they appear in pre-scientific thought, have in their origin something to do either with divination or with charms or spells to ward off evils and to compel good omens. Now the common character of these objects is that they exhibit an elaborately classified structure. Their origin is psychologically explicable, I think, in terms of the fact that when one seeks for decisive answers, "yes" and "no," to practical questions, or for spells to force a decision, "yes" or "no," upon one's social or natural world, one is first led to draw sharp lines between the friendly and the unfriendly in nature, the lucky and the unlucky in occurrences, the way to success and the way to failure in one's own life. Then one is led to scrutinize closely the various facts of nature and of art to find the signs corresponding to these "yes" and "no" distinctions. The result is that one forms the habit of defining classes with sharp boundary lines. As nature is slow in furnishing directly such classes, ready-made, one proceeds to make them artificially, by constructing diagrams for divination. But one is eager to adjust these diagrams to the observed phenomena of nature. Hence one looks for guidance to the more stately and regular natural processes, such as especially favor exact description in terms of class distinctions. The result is important for the early development of the science of numbers, as the magic squares and similar devices show.

The same process gives rise to astrology, astrology gives birth to astronomy; and thus exact science develops out of that form of categorizing phenomena which divination especially favors. Practical decisions, with their sharp distinctions between "yes" and "no," teach man to look for what sympathetic magic alone would never have taught him, namely for the signs of precision, definiteness, exact order, and negatively definable law in nature. As sympathetic magic led man dimly to feel the unity of the cosmos, so divination and tabu, calling attention to the negative aspect of things, helped man in the pre-scientific stage to begin to comprehend the articulation of things and to approach the conception of exact law.

SOME ASPECTS OF SAMUEL BUTLER.

BY M. JOURDAIN.

SAMUEL BUTLER, who was born in 1835 and died in 1902, has only been a name for the last few years among the general public. He owes this introduction mainly to his two literary "godfathers," Mr. Francis Darwin[1] and Mr. Bernard Shaw. The latter in one of his polemical prefaces brings Butler to the fore in a manner which sent hundreds of readers to the *Way of all Flesh*. To read in his own department that the late Samuel Butler was the greatest English writer of the latter half of the nineteenth century was a shock to the public already conquered by Shaw, and to whom the name of Butler suggested vaguely the overdusted author of the *Analogy*, or of *Hudibras*. Shaw's few words are telling. "It drives one almost to despair of English literature," he writes, "when one sees so extraordinary a study of English life as Butler's posthumous *Way of all Flesh* making so little impression, that when some years later I produce plays in which Butler's extraordinarily fresh, free and future-piercing suggestions have an obvious share, I am met with nothing but vague cacklings about Ibsen and Nietzsche and am only too thankful they are not about Alfred de Musset and Georges Sand. Really, the English do not deserve to have great men. They allowed Butler to die practically unnoticed."

To this admission we must add that of his other "godfather," Mr. Francis Darwin, who in his presidential address at the British Association in 1908, spoke of Butler's entertaining book *Life and Habit*; and Professor Bateson's mention of him in 1909[2] as "the most brilliant and by far the most interesting of Darwin's opponents, whose works are at length emerging from oblivion."

These utterances aroused the interest which was accumulating

[1] Now Sir Francis Darwin.

[2] *Darwin and Modern Science*, 1909.

for Butler after his death, and he has begun to be exalted with a rapidity that he himself, though secure of his ultimate hearing, could hardly have foreseen. At the time of his death the leading articles concluded that it was a pity so talented a man had done no more: as if they had been writing the obituary notice of Lord Acton, who died at the same moment. On the whole, the notices of Lord Acton are the longer. But the difficulty in truth is that Butler had done so much that before his death it was possible for a person not unduly ignorant to be unaware that the author of *Erewhon* had moved in theological polemics and in Shakespearian, Homeric and scientific criticism; that he had attacked some problems of art, was a composer of music and verse, and a fairly well-known exhibitor in the Royal Academy. And all this without giving the impression of dilettantism and superficiality. Oscar Wilde says somewhere that to know the vintage and quality of a wine one need not drink the whole cask. Now, it is necessary to drink the whole cask in the case of Butler, and to know not only his complete work but his life, for the simple reason that he is one of the most autobiographical of authors, and his best book is but a disguised autobiography.

The main facts of this life are sufficiently well known, and no reader of *The Way of all Flesh* is surprised that Butler was the son of a clergyman and grandson of a bishop. He was born at his father's rectory of Langar in Nottinghamshire, in 1835. He went from Shrewsbury School to St. John's College, Cambridge, where he graduated as twelfth in the Classical Tripos in 1858. After Cambridge he was impelled into the priestly path from without rather than within, and went so far as to become a lay reader. The path was not of his choosing, and in the autumn of 1859 he emigrated to New Zealand, where he was successful in his sheep run and even more so in its sale at a fortunate moment. He returned to England and set himself to school as a painter. Between 1865 and 1870 he hardly wrote anything, being, as he says in the 1901 preface to *Erewhon*, "hopeful of attaining that success as a painter which it has not been vouchsafed me to attain." His literary work practically begins with *Erewhon*.

As he says in his preface, the substance of certain chapters was written between 1863 and 1865. In 1871 the book was written. On its appearance in March 1872 it had an unlooked-for success which he attributed mainly to two early favorable reviews, the first in the *Pall Mall Gazette* and the second in the *Spectator*. There was also another cause. Butler was "complaining once to a friend that

though *Erewhon* had met with such a warm reception my subsequent books had been all of them practically still-born. He said: 'You forget one charm that *Erewhon* had, but which none of your other books have.' I asked what, and was answered: 'The sound of a new voice and of an unknown voice.'" The unknown voice had a success unexpected by George Meredith, who was then reader to Chapman and Hall, and who advised its rejection as "a philosophical work little likely to be popular with a large circle of readers." It is curious that this one successful book did not do more to create a taste for Butler's work; for *Erewhon* contains many of his "finds," or recurrent ideas, such as the analogy of crime and disease, the preference for physical over moral health, the theory of the transmission of habit and memory from one generation to another, and the condemnation of certain forms of cant.

It is characteristic of Butler that his next book, published anonymously like *Erewhon*, was also an exercise in irony. *The Fair Haven*, which appeared in 1873, and which declared itself as "a defence of the miraculous element in our Lord's ministry upon earth, both as against rationalist impugners and certain orthodox defenders," is an instance of the sober and weighty irony of which Swift alone among his predecessors had the secret. A well-known religious paper in a long review expressed itself grateful for Butler's defence and his scattering of the unorthodox, and this review was one of his most treasured possessions. The mystification disturbed the uncritical, and Butler won the reputation of a malign person to be feared by those whose gift for irony was undeveloped.

The next batch of books was written about the "finds" which Butler himself would seem to have considered the most important of all those ideas which he picked up like "sovereigns that were lying about the street." One of the most original is the perception that "personal identity cannot be denied between parents and offspring without at the same time denying it between the different ages, and hence moments, in the life of the individual—and as a corollary to this the ascription of the phenomena of heredity to the same source as those of memory."

As Hering[3] says: "Between the *me* of to-day and the *me* of yesterday lie night and sleep, abysses of unconsciousness; nor is there any bridge but memory with which to span them." And in the same way he claims that the abyss between two generations is

[3] Cf. *On Memory as a General Function of Organised Matter*, Chicago, 1895; Mach, *Contributions to the Analysis of the Sensations*, Chicago, 1897, page 36.

bridged by the unconscious memory that resides in the germ cells. Butler has previously worked out the view that "we are one person with our ancestors" in *Life and Habit* (1877) written in ignorance of Hering's work, and this was the first and undoubtedly the most important of his writings on evolution.

With Butler the leading motive in one book is repeated in its contemporaries and successors, and *The Way of all Flesh* has much in common with *Life and Habit*, for though the publication of *The Way* was for obvious reasons deferred until after his death, it was written about 1872 and touched and retouched until 1884, so that it is to a great extent contemporaneous with *Life and Habit*. The incentive to write the book was given by Butler's acquaintance with Miss Savage, who is the Althea of *The Way*. The book has the freshness often absent from the novel of the professed novelist, the sharp taste of sincere autobiography. The history of Ernest Pontifex, coincident with Samuel Butler's at more than one point, is told without false or external accentuation, without stage trickery and contrivances. At some junctures where the satire seems to drop to caricature, Butler was often giving a transcript of his experience. It is a fantasia on the filial relationship, a lesson for parents, and it would seem that Butler was the only man of his generation who saw the unnecessary glooms and deceptions of the English upper and middle-class households.

Unlike Ernest Pontifex, Butler cannot be described as a man of one book with many creditable failures to set against the successful *Erewhon*, but like him he can be said to be "the exact likeness of Othello, but with a difference—he hates not wisely but too well." *The Way* was Butler's only venture into the novel of human interest, as apart from the Utopian fantasies of the two *Erewhons*. The line of argument he took up in *Life and Habit* against the rigid application of natural selection he now proceeded to complete in his *Evolution, Old and New* (1879), in which he "tidied up the earlier history of Evolution," *Unconscious Memory* (1880), *Luck and Cunning* (1886), and *The Deadlock in Darwinism* (1890)—a revolt against what he considered the banishment of mind from the universe.

A little later than the bulk of his scientific work come his contributions to art criticism, in which he opened the eyes of many people to the originality of the work of Gaudenzio Ferrari and Tabachetti at Varallo,[4] where he stayed repeatedly from 1871 to 1901. As might be expected, his treatment of the sacrosanct common-

[4] In *Ex Voto* (1888).

places of traditional art criticism is as irreverent as Hogarth's way with the "dark masters." "As for the old masters, the better plan," Butler writes, "would be never to look at one of them and to consign Raffaele along with Plato, Marcus Aurelius, Antoninus, Dante, Goethe and two others, neither of them Englishmen, to limbo as the Seven Humbugs of Christendom." Any reader of Butler may fill up the two discreet vacancies for himself, the only problem being that there are only two seats to fill.

The traditional commonplaces of art criticisms are amusingly gathered upon his George Pontifex in *The Way of all Flesh*, who goes upon a continental grand tour "having made up his mind to admire only what he thought it would be creditable in him to admire, to look at nature and art only through the spectacles that had been handed down to him by generation after generation of prigs and impostors." As a consequence, conventional ecstasies, genteel paroxysms which "it is interesting to compare with the rhapsodies of critics in our own times." "Not long ago a much esteemed writer informed the world that he felt disposed to cry out with delight before a figure by Michael Angelo. I wonder whether he would feel 'disposed to cry out with delight' before a real Michael Angelo if the critics had declared it was not genuine, or before a reputed Michael Angelo which was really by somebody else? But I suppose a prig with more money than brains was much the same sixty or seventy years ago as he is now."

It may be added that Butler applied the same spirit in questioning the "dark masters" in music and classic literature, and that he questioned the reputation of Mendelssohn and Beethoven, Virgil and the Greek tragedians. The list of his preferences and detestations is significant of Butler's own outfit. One sees what he found or wished to find in the arts: his distaste for the academical in literature, the "lengths of satin" of Tennyson, the languid work of Walter Pater, the "Wardour Street English," as he calls it, of a well-known translation of Homer. It was natural that with this criterion Butler was inclined to set Tabachetti's fresh and unacademic work higher than it is generally placed, among the very highest achievements of plastic art.

In 1886 the death of Butler's father removed his financial difficulties, and he now spent most summers abroad, returning to his chambers in Clifford's Inn. During this period he studied music with his friend Mr. Festing Jones; and between 1886 and 1902 he brought out such disparate books as *The Authoress of the Odyssey*, the dignified and dull biography of his grandfather and namesake

Samuel Butler, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry,[5] an excursion into the problem of Shakespeare's Sonnets,[6] and *Erewhon Revisited*—his last and most rapidly written book, composed between November 1900 and the end of April in the following year. Failing health may have had something to do with the relative weakness of the sequel, for he was not well when he set out for Sicily in the spring of 1902. He died on June 18 of that year. In returning to his last book for the latest expression of his thought on the religious questions he had so often raised, we have a clear statement in his preface.

"I forget when, but not very long after I had published *Erewhon* in 1872, it occurred to me to ask myself what course events in *Erewhon* would probably take after Mr. Higgs.... had made his escape. Given a people in the conditions supposed to exist in *Erewhon*, and given the apparently miraculous ascent of a remarkable stranger into the heavens with an earthly bride—what would be the effect on people generally? It was not till the early winter of 1900-1, as nearly as may be thirty years after the date of Higg's escape, that I found time to deal with the question above stated.... Now the development of all new religions follows much the same general course. In all cases the times are more or less out of joint—older faiths are losing their hold upon the masses. At such times, let a personality appear, strong in itself and made to appear still stronger by association with some supposed 'transcendent' miracle, and it will be easy to raise a 'Lo here!' that will attract many followers. If there be a single great and apparently well-authenticated miracle, others will accrete round it; then in all religions that have so originated there will follow temples, priests, rites, sincere believers, and unscrupulous exploiters of public credulity." Again in this preface he tells us that he "never ceased to profess himself a member of the more advanced wing of the English Broad Church. What those who belong to the wing believe I believe. What they reject, I reject." He rejects the letter[7] and accepts the spirit, as he had said in his earlier *Ex Voto*:

[5] *Life of Samuel Butler, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry* (1896).

[6] *Shakespeare's Sonnets Reconsidered* (1899). This is not a particularly interesting work of Butler's, and his theory of the "Mr. W. H." is not included by him among his own list of his important "finds."

[7] This has been questioned. Mr. Salter writes in *Essays on Two Moderns*: "How far the book was intended to cast a doubt on any particular incident of the Christian story may be questioned; Butler himself strenuously denied any such intention. But the resemblances are in some cases too close to be accidental, and it seems most probable to suppose that, desiring to show how easily among an unsophisticated and imaginative people the supernatural and miraculous cluster round matter-of-fact occurrences, he chose to use illustra-

"Who in these days but the advocates whose paid profession it is to maintain the existing order and those whom custom and vested interests hold enthralled, accepts the letter of Christianity more than he accepts the letter of Oriental exaggerated phraseology? Who, on the other hand, that need be reckoned with, denies the eternal underlying verity that there is an omnipresent unknown Something for which Mind, Spirit, or God is, as Professor Mivart has well said, 'the least misleading' expression? Who doubts that this Mind or God is immanent throughout the whole universe, sustaining it, guiding it, living in it, he in it and it in him. I heard," he adds, "of one not long since who said he had been an atheist this ten years, and added 'Thank God.'"

That disturbing close to a passage in his most serious mood is one cause of Butler's beating the air, as far as his own generation was concerned. His manner suggested the convenient conclusion that he was an eccentric, "a Columbus of mare's nests, whose claim to fame, apart from his first book, rested on the discovery that Darwin was an imposter, and that Homer was a woman."[8] He broke with the tradition of seriousness in controversy, in which his books are rather confessions and conversations. Even when he backs himself against specialists, his style has the unlabored, unaffected note which has become not unusual to-day, but which must have surprised his contemporaries. In the preface to his *Luck or Cunning?*, for instance, he assured the world that he believed his theories to be as important as theories can be which do not involve money or bodily inconvenience,—an assurance which the world was not wont to receive from the theorist. He troubled the church that was not broad by his mystifications and his paradoxes, and his jests had a sharper and more intimate edge from his position as the son and grandson of augurs, so that two widely differing classes considered him as hardly serious. But this was a mistaken estimate. There is no better test of an author's seriousness, whatever be his manner, than his consistency with his expressed self, the recurrence of his leading ideas, and, if this be applied to Butler, it will be found that he is the exact opposite of the character general contemporary opinion assigned to him, and that the author of the *Fair Haven* had some reason to prefix to *Erewhon Revisited* the motto from Homer:

> "Him do I hate even as I hate Hell fire
> Who says one thing, and hides another in his heart."

tions which would be familiar to all his readers, without necessarily intending an attack on the Christian faith as such."

[8] Desmond Macarthy, in *Independent Review*, Sept., 1904.

THE MORAL CONCORD.[1]

BY THE LATE HENRI POINCARÉ.

TO-DAY'S assemblage brings together men of very different ideas, who are united only by a common good will and an equal desire for the good; doubtless nevertheless they will readily understand one another, because though they may not be agreed as to the means, they are in accord as to the aim to be attained, and it is only that which counts.

We have recently read, and may still read on the walls of Paris, bills announcing a contradictory conference on "the conflict of morals."

Does this conflict exist, could it exist? No. Morality may buttress itself with a multitude of reasons. Some of them are transcendent; these are perhaps the best and surely the noblest, but they are the ones debated; one there is at least, perhaps a little more of the earth earthy, upon which we cannot fail to be in accord.

The life of man, in reality, is a continual struggle; against him rise up forces, blind doubtless but formidable, which would promptly down him, which would destroy him, overwhelm him with a thousand misfortunes, if he were not constantly up in arms to resist them.

If we enjoy at times a relative rest, it is because our fathers have fought hard; let our energy, let our vigilance relax but an instant, and we lose all the fruit of their battles, all they have won for us. Thus humanity is like an army in war. Every army has need of discipline, and it is not enough for it to submit to discipline upon the day of battle; it must bend to it in times of peace. Otherwise defeat is certain, no bravery can save the day.

[1] Read by Henri Poincaré at the inaugural meeting of the French League for Moral Education, three weeks before his death, his last appearance in public. Translated by George Bruce Halsted.

What I have just said applies equally well to the struggle mankind must sustain in order to live; the discipline it must accept is called morality. The day when this should be forgotten humanity would be vanquished beforehand and plunged into an abyss of evils. On that day, moreover, it would undergo decadence, it would feel itself less beautiful and, so to speak, smaller. We should mourn not only because of the evils which would follow, but because the beautiful would be obliterated.

On these points we all think alike, we all know whither it is necessary to go; why do we differ when it is a question of the way thither?

If arguments could accomplish anything, it would be easy to be in harmony. Mathematicians never argue when it is a question of knowing how one should demonstrate a theorem, but here the matter is wholly different. To establish morality by arguing is to have your labor for your pains; in such matters there is no argument that cannot be answered.

Explain to a soldier how many evils defeat engenders, and that it will compromise even his personal safety, and he may always answer that this safety would be still better guaranteed if others did the fighting. If the soldier does not answer thus, it is because he is mute from some force or other that silences all argument. What we need is a force like that.

Now the human soul is an inexhaustible reservoir of forces, a fertile source, a rich spring of motor energy. This motive force is the emotions, and it is necessary for the moralists to capture, so to speak, these forces and direct them in the right way, just as the engineers subjugate the forces of nature and bend them to industrial needs.

But—and here the diversity arises—to make the same machine go, the engineers may have recourse indifferently to steam or to hydraulic energy; just so the professors of morals can at their will put in action one or another of the psychologic forces. Each will naturally choose the force he feels in himself. Those which might come to him from without, or which he might borrow from a neighbor, he would handle only clumsily; they would be lifeless and without efficacy in his hands. He will forego them, and with reason. It is because their arms are different that their methods must be; why should they bear ill will toward each other?

And meanwhile, it is always the same morality that is taught. Whether you look toward the general good, whether you appeal to pity or to the emotion of human dignity, you always reach the

same precepts, those which can not be forgotten without the nations perishing, without at the same time miseries multiplying and man beginning to decline.

Why then do all these men who, with different weapons, combat the same enemy so rarely recall that they are allies? Why do some at times rejoice over the defeats of the others? Do they forget that each of these defeats is a triumph of the eternal adversary, a diminution of the common patrimony? Oh, no! we are in too dire need of all our forces to have the right to neglect any; so we repress not one, we only proscribe hate.

Truly hate also is a force, a very powerful force; but we can not use it, because it contracts, because it is like a telescope into which one can only look through the large end. Even between races hate is fatal, and it does not make true heroes. I know not whether, beyond certain frontiers, they hope to find advantage in making patriotism with hate; but that is contrary to the instincts of our race and to its traditions. French armies have always fought for some one or for something, and not against some one; they have not fought less well for that.

If within the country the parties forget the great ideas which make their honor and the reason for their existence and recall only their hate—if one says: "I am anti-this," and the other replies: "I am anti-that"—immediately the horizon narrows, as if clouds had fallen and had veiled the peaks. The vilest means are employed; men recoil neither from calumny nor from secret accusation, and those who show surprise at this become suspects. We see people arise who seem to have mind only for lying and heart only for hate. And souls that are not vulgar, if only they take shelter under the same flag, reserve for them treasures of indulgence and at times of admiration. In the presence of so many opposing hates, we hesitate to wish for the defeat of one, which would be the triumph of the others.

Behold all that hate can do, and this is exactly what we do not wish. Let us then draw closer together; let us learn to know each other and thus to esteem each other, in order to pursue our common ideal. Let us guard ourselves against imposing uniform methods upon all. It cannot be done, and besides it is not to be desired. Uniformity is death because it closes the door to all progress; and moreover all constraint is sterile and hateful.

Men differ, some are refractory; just one of your words may win their heart, while all the remainder of your discourse would leave them indifferent. I cannot know whether this decisive word

is not the very one you are about to say when I forbid you to say it!....But then, you see the danger: these men, who will not have received the same education, are called to knock against one another in life. Under these repeated shocks their souls will be shaken, will be modified, perhaps they will change faith.

What will happen if the new ideas they come to adopt are those their old masters represented to them as just the negation of morality? Will this habit of mind be lost in a day? At the same time, their new friends will teach them not merely to reject what they once adored, but to scorn it. They will not retain for the generous ideas which cradled their souls that tender memory which survives faith. Their moral ideal risks being involved in this general ruin; too mature to undergo a new education, they will lose the fruits of the old.

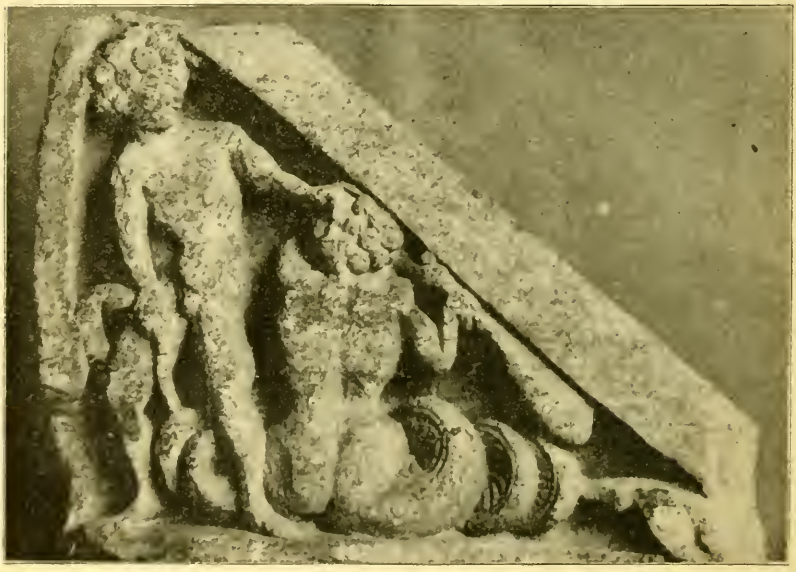
This danger will be exorcised, or at least diminished, if we learn to speak only with respect of all sincere efforts which others make by our side; this respect would be easy for us if we knew one another better.

And this is just the object of the League for Moral Education. To-day's celebration sufficiently proves that it is possible to have an ardent faith and to do justice to the faith of others, and that in sum, under different uniforms, we are only, so to speak, different divisions of the same army, fighting side by side.

GREEK ART IN INDIA.

BY THE EDITOR.

GREEK civilization is younger than the culture of Asia. It flourished when Egypt and Babylon began to break down. It is younger also than the culture of Brahmanism as it developed in the valley of the Ganges. Nevertheless Greek art influenced Indian



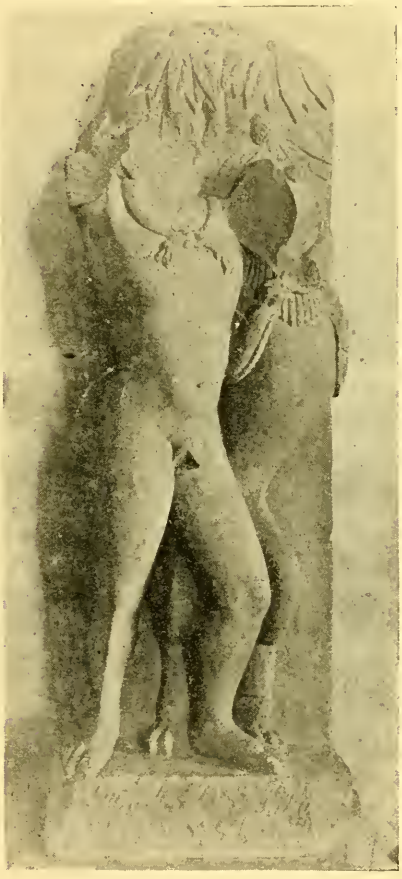
A BUDDHIST GIGANTOMACHY.

poetry as well as sculpture, for the very oldest documents of India, in the versions in which they survive, show influences of the Greek spirit. The Mahabharata, as we now have it, has undoubtedly been revised by redactors who knew Greek, for it shows decided traces of the Homeric legend.

THE BUDDHA STATUE OF GANDHARA.

A BUDDHIST ATHENE.

Further, we know nothing of plastic Indian art in pre-Buddhistic times. It may have existed, but no monuments are preserved; and it appears that the ancient Indian worked only in perishable materials, but not in marble or in metals. Here again it was Greek art that gave the impetus to the development of Indian sculp-



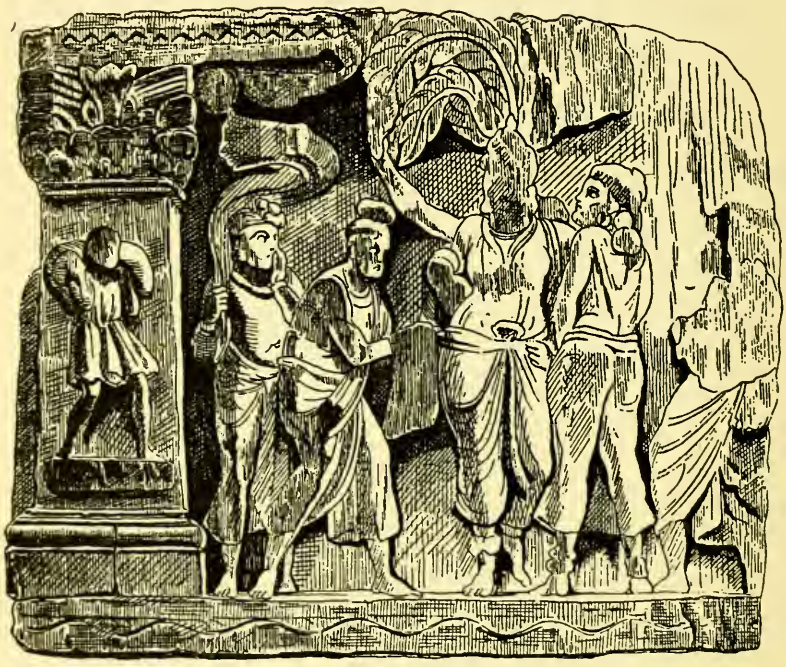
AN INDIAN HERACLES.

ture, the oldest traces of which we find in Gandhara, where the Buddhist converts of Greek descent had imported Greek sculptors to represent in Greek style Buddha and the scenes of his life, including also the tales of his former births.

There is a lesson in the study of Greek influence on Buddhist art which will help us to appreciate the significance of classical

paganism in the origin of primitive Christian art as it developed in the third and fourth centuries of the Christian era.

Ancient Hellas was the center of art inspiration for all its neighbors, and it is strange that the prototype even of the Buddha himself can be traced back to a Greek model which was no other than the god of light and prophecy, Apollo, the leader of the Muses; and the same artists who had chiseled the oldest of all the Buddha statues imported also a number of other Greek motives, many of which continued to live in Buddhist art while others were not repeated.



THE LAMB BEARER.
On a piece of Gandhara sculpture representing the Birth of Buddha.

This latter fate has been met by a female deity closely resembling Pallas Athene which has been found among the ancient ruins, and also by a gigantomachy, a fight of serpent-footed giants with the gods.

Among more recent discoveries we have a perfectly Greek figure of a man wrestling with a lion. This motive has not been continued because it found no explanation in the Buddhist canon. No such scene is reported anywhere in the Jatakas, and so it is like a seed thrown on the stony ground which took no root. This group

is generally interpreted to be a Heracles wrestling with the Nemean lion. The work is more originally Greek than any other piece of sculpture discovered in India, but it is a pity that the heads of both the man and the lion have been broken off, and also the right hand of the man which might have given us a safe clue as to the intention of the artist.

A very interesting motive is the Buddhist lamb-bearer which resembles the Christian Good Shepherd. Archeologists have been puzzled to decide which might have been the original, but this question is beyond dispute in so far as all Gandhara sculptures date back into the second century B. C., and we must assume that both the Buddhist and the Christian types have been revived from an older motive which in pagan Greece is called the ram-bearing Hermes. In Christianity this motive found a good soil in the parable of Christ and the good shepherd who goes in search for and carries home on his shoulders the sheep that has strayed away from the flock. Buddhism, having no such tale among its traditions, seems to have explained this picturesque figure in the sense that the shepherd is carrying home the sheep which the Buddha by abolishing bloody offerings has saved from the fate of being sacrificed to the old Brahman gods.

DEUSSEN'S RECOLLECTIONS OF NIETZSCHE.

BY THE EDITOR.

PROFESSOR Paul Deussen, Sanskritist and philosopher of Kiel, was Friedrich Nietzsche's most intimate friend. They were chums together in school in Schulpforta, and remained friends to the end of Nietzsche's life. Nietzsche had come to Schulpforta in 1858, and Deussen entered the next year in the same class. Once Nietzsche, who as the senior of the class had to keep order among his fellow scholars during working periods and prevent them from making a disturbance, approached Deussen while he sat in his seat peacefully chewing the sandwich he had brought for his lunch, and said, "Don't talk so loud to your crust!" using here the boys' slang term for a sandwich. These were the first words Nietzsche had spoken to Deussen, and Deussen says[1]: "I see Nietzsche still before me, how with the unsteady glance peculiar to extremely near-sighted people, his eye wandered over the rows of his classmates searching in vain for an excuse to interfere."

Nietzsche and Deussen began to take walks together and soon became chums, probably on account of their common love for Anacreon, whose poems were interesting to both perhaps on account of the easy Greek in which they are written.

In those days the boys of Schulpforta addressed each other by the formal *Sie*; but one day when Deussen happened to be in the dormitory, he discovered in the trunk under his bed a little package of snuff; Nietzsche was present and each took a pinch. With this pinch they swore eternal brotherhood. They did not drink brotherhood as is the common German custom, but, as Deussen humorously says, they "snuffed it"; and from that time they called each other by the more intimate *du*. This friendship continued through life with only one interruption, and on Laetare Sunday in 1861, they stepped to the altar together and side by side

[1] See Dr. Paul Deussen's *Erinnerungen an Friedrich Nietzsche*, Leipsic.

received the blessing at their confirmation. On that day both were overcome by a feeling of holiness and ecstasy. Thus their friendship was sealed in Christ, and though it may seem strange of Nietzsche who was later a most iconoclastic atheist, a supernatural vision filled their young hearts for many weeks afterwards.

There was a third boy to join this friendship—a certain Meyer, a young, handsome and amiable youth distinguished by wit and the ability to draw excellent caricatures. But Meyer was in constant conflict with his teachers and generally in rebellion against the rules of the school. He had to leave school before he finished his course. Nietzsche and Deussen accompanied him to the gate and returned in great sorrow when he had disappeared on the highway. What has become of Meyer is not known. Deussen saw him five years later in his home at Oberdreis, but at that time he was broken in health and courage, disgruntled with God, the world and himself. Later he held a subordinate position in the custom house, and soon after that all trace of him was lost. Probably he died young.

This Meyer was attached to Nietzsche for other reasons than Deussen. While Deussen appreciated more the intellectuality and congeniality of his friend, Meyer seems to have been more attracted by his erratic and wayward tendencies and this for some time endeared him to Nietzsche. Thus it came to pass that the two broke with Deussen for a time.

The way of establishing a state of hostility in Schulpforta was to declare oneself "mad" at another, and to some extent this proved to be a good institution, for since the boys came in touch with each other daily and constantly in school, those who could not agree would have easily come to blows had it not been for this tabu which made it a rule that they were not on speaking terms. This state of things lasted for six weeks, and was only broken by an incidental discussion in a Latin lesson, when Nietzsche proposed one of his highly improbable conjectures for a verse of Virgil. The discussion grew heated, and when the professor after a long Latin disquisition finally asked whether any one had something to say on the subject, Deussen rose and extemporized a Latin hexameter which ran thus:

"Nietzschius erravit, neque coniectura probanda est."

On account of the declared state of "mad"ness, the debate was carried on through the teacher, addressing him each time with the phrase: "Tell Nietzsche," "Tell Deussen," "Tell Meyer," etc., but in the heat of the controversy they forgot to speak in the third person, and finally addressed their adversaries directly. This broke the

spell of being "mad" and they came to an understanding and a definite reconciliation.

Nietzsche never had another friend with whom he became so intimate as with Deussen. Deussen says (page 9): "At that time we understood each other perfectly. In our lonely walks we discussed all possible subjects of religion, philosophy, poetry, art and music. Often our thoughts ran wild and when words failed us we would look into each other's eyes, and one would say to the other: 'We understand each other.' These words became a standing phrase which forthwith we decided to avoid as trivial, and we had to laugh when occasionally it escaped our lips in spite of us. The great ordeal of the final examination came. We had to pass first through our written tests. In German composition, on the 'advantages and dangers of wealth' Nietzsche passed with No. 1; also in a Latin exercise *de bello Punico primo*; but in mathematics he failed with the lowest mark, No. 4. This upset him, and in fact he who was almost the most gifted of us all was compelled to withdraw."

While the two were strolling up and down in front of the schoolhouse, Nietzsche unburdened his grief to his friend, and Deussen tried to comfort him. "What difference does it make," said he, "if you pass badly, if only you pass at all? You are and will always be more gifted than all the rest of us, and will soon outstrip even me whom you now envy. You must increase but I must decrease."

The course of events was as Deussen had predicted, for Nietzsche though not passing with as much distinction as he may have deserved nevertheless received his diploma.

When Deussen visited Nietzsche with his wife in August 1907 at Sils-Maria, Nietzsche showed him a requiem which he had composed for his own funeral, and he added: "I do not believe that I will last much longer. I have reached the age at which my father died, and I fear that I shall fall a victim to the same disease as he." Though Deussen protested vigorously against this sad prediction and tried to cheer him up, Nietzsche indeed succumbed to his sad fate within two years.

* * *

Professor Deussen, though Nietzsche's most intimate friend, is by no means uncritical in judging his philosophy. It is true he cherishes the personal character and the ideal tendencies of his old chum, but he is not blind to his faults. Deussen says of Nietzsche: "He was never a systematic philosopher....The great problems of epistemology, of psychology, of esthetics and ethics are only tenta-

tively touched upon in his writings.... There are many pearls of worth upon which he throws a brilliant side light, as it were in lightning flashes.... His overwhelming imagination is always busy. His thoughts were always presented in pleasant imagery and in language of dazzling brilliancy, but he lacked critical judgment and was not controlled by a consideration of reality. Therefore the creation of his pen was never in harmony with the actual world, and among the most valuable truths which he revealed with ingenious profundity there are bizarre and distorted notions stated as general rules although they are merely rare exceptions, as is also frequently the case in sensational novels. Thus Nietzsche produced a caricature of life which means no small danger for receptive and inexperienced minds. His readers can escape this danger only when they do what Nietzsche did not do, when they confront every thought of his step by step by the actual nature of things, and retain only what proves to be true under the touchstone of experience."

Between the negation of the will and its affirmation Nietzsche granted to Deussen while still living in Basel, that the ennoblement of the will should be man's aim. The affirmation of the will is the pagan ideal with the exception of Platonism. The negation of the will is the Christian ideal, and according to Nietzsche the ennoblement of the will is realized in his ideal of the overman. Deussen makes the comment that Nietzsche's notion of the overman is in truth the ideal of all mankind, whether this highest type of manhood be called Christ or overman; and we grant that such an ideal is traceable everywhere. It is called "Messiah" among the Jews; "hero" among the Greeks, "Christ" among the Christians, and *chiün jan,* "the superior man," or to use Nietzsche's language, "the overman," among the Chinese; but the characteristics with which Nietzsche endows his overman are unfortunately mere brutal strength and an unscrupulous will to play the tyrant. Here Professor Deussen halts. It appears that he knew the peaceful character of his friend too well to take his ideal of the overman seriously.

THE ORIENT AND WORLD PEACE.

FROM AN ORIENTAL POINT OF VIEW.

BY BASANTA KOOMAR ROY.

THE struggle for supremacy between the Orient and Occident has been perennial. Epoch after epoch, century after century, the story of Asian and European conquest and counter-conquest has filled the pages of history. It has been written in human blood. The Huns and the Moors, the Mongols and Ottoman Turks fell on Europe, slaughtered, conquered and subjugated the Europeans. On the other hand the Greeks and the Romans, the Portuguese, Dutch, Slavs, French and Britons swept over Asia, slaughtered, conquered and subjugated the Asians. Yesterday Asia stood on the heart of Europe; to-day Europe stands on the heart of Asia; and the problem of future relationship between the East and the West, two halves of one whole, is the problem of world peace. Consequently, it is of vital importance to the progress of the human race, and it is quite in season to see what the eastern half thinks about it.

It is claimed in certain quarters that the table of history has turned again. With the Japanese victory over Russia, it is believed, there has dawned a new era that will make it possible for history to repeat itself. But whether the awakened democracy of Asia will allow the outrage of conquest for individual or national aggrandizement remains to be seen.

Nevertheless, it cannot be gainsaid that the feeling of resentment in the Orient against the Occident is increasing. We cannot ignore it, however much we would like to do so. When we hear ultra-radical Hindus say that their ambition is not only to attain Indian independence, but also to conquer England, not to keep her in subjection to "civilize" the natives, but to capture the precious stones, books, manuscripts, the exquisite pieces of sculpture and many, many other things of use and luxury which the British took

away from India without the permission of their owners; when we see a Japanese paper, the *Asahi* of Ozaka, declare with reference to the insults the yellow races are subjected to in America: "Spiritless as the Orientals are, they will not forever acquiesce in this sort of waywardness; the time will surely come when the Americans will regret having carried their waywardness to excess"; when we see the eyes of the intelligent leaders of modern China kindle with anger, though softened with tears, when they talk about the ignominies they are exposed to at home and abroad and instantly clasp their hands in resolution to "better the instruction"; and again, when we see the tassels of the Turkish and Egyptian fez flutter in the air, as their wearers wave their heads in indignation and talk in lava about European aggression, and swear unmerciful retaliation—when we see all these, as the present writer has done during his sojourn in many lands, it is futile, if not foolish, to ignore such sentiments.

Truly, this spirit of revolt is becoming so self-evident and the Pan-Oriental movement is assuming such a gigantic proportion that the West, conscious of the guilt of its aggression, stands terrified at its appearance, and paints pictures and writes poems and articles about the perils. One group scents in it the Mohammedan peril, a second group sees in it the Yellow peril, and a third fears that it is the Asiatic peril.

The first group is afraid of the repetition of the Mohammedan conquest of Europe and European dominions in Asia and Africa, or at least the ejection of European authority from the Mohammedan countries. There is sound reason for this nervousness, for the Pan-Islamic movement is gaining ground every day, and the entire Mohammedan world is pulsating in the face of common danger with an accentuated sense of unity which it never knew before. The historic antagonism between the *Shias* and the *Shunnis* is fast disappearing, not on account of their love one for the other, but on account of their common hatred for the "Christian infidel." They are no longer willing to run at each other's throat, but are quite anxious and preparing to run at the throat of their common enemy. "Why should the follower of the Prophet crawl in the dust before the infidel slave?"—they have already begun to ask. In fact the Mohammedans all over the world are burning with rage at the humiliation of Turkey—their temporal and spiritual head—in Europe, Africa and Asia; and especially at the criminal Anglo-Russian conspiracy for the strangulation of Persia, the unprovoked Italian outrage on Tripoli and the Balkan war with European con-

nivance in utter violation of the Treaty of Berlin, which has crippled Turkey in Europe for many years to come.

On account of the politico-religious nature of the Snoussia movement extreme secrecy is observed and almost nothing is known to the outer world about its true extent and influence. Nobody can tell us with any amount of certainty whether the coordinated energy of hundreds of Moslem secret societies is ready to declare a Holy War—a *jihad*—in the near future or whether it has to wait till doomsday. At any rate, it is patent that the entire Moslem world is on the warpath. Agents of the secret societies are moving to and fro and sparing no pains to gain converts. The *moulavis*, the pilgrims, the merchants, and the caravans are doing the work. These agents, we are told, are especially active in India wherein reside 70,000,000 of the Mohammedans, about 35 per cent of the total Mohammedan population of the world. Their endeavors and the magical influence of the Tripolitan and Balkan wars, have made the Mohammedans of India suspicious of British diplomacy in the Orient. So much so, that the same Mohammedans of India who a few years ago absolutely refused to have anything to do with British-Indian politics, last December in their All-India Moslem Convention passed resolutions demanding self-government for India along colonial lines. Not only this, but while the Moslem women of India were selling, not pawning, their jewels to contribute money for the Turkish war, their husbands and brothers were demanding the immediate release of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, an orthodox Hindu, the most prominent leader of Indian nationalism, who has been imprisoned by the British for the treason of patriotism. The British statesmen on account of these symptoms of a "Mohammedan peril" are terror-stricken. One little instance may throw a flood of light on the nature of the terror that has seized our British friends. Not very long ago an Egyptian student of a high Moslem family went to India to study in the Mohammedan college at Aligarh. The Mohammedan students of the college were so pleased that they gave a tea party in honor of their guest from Egypt. The British-Indian government, that had about 250,000 soldiers at its command, was terrified at this unwarrantable expression of warmth of feeling between the Egyptian and Indian Mohammedans, and summarily ordered the student out of India bag and baggage.

The import of the Mohammedan peril is as plain as the mid-day sun. How does the West intend to solve this volcanic problem? One thing is certain—neither coercion nor un-Christian hatred will solve it permanently.

The second group can see how the yellow races are going to unite to drive the Russians beyond the Urals, and the British, the Germans and the French from their respective spheres of influence and interest. It also sees how they are surreptitiously preparing to capture the dog-in-the-manger policy-ridden Australia and New Zealand, the Philippines, and Hawaii. It is afraid that the momentum of conquest may even carry them across the Pacific to teach the color-phobe and "democratic" Americans a lesson in return for the American laws of exclusion and discrimination which have reduced the Celestials to the position of helots, and give preference even to European criminals over the sober, law-abiding and industrious Japanese.

Indeed, the Yellow peril is a stern reality. The problems of "birthrate," "economic pressure" and "silk vendors" are not as vital as are the political and social disabilities they suffer at the hands of their Western brothers and sisters. The former can be peacefully adjusted within the yellow world, for there is room for tremendous expansion; but the latter involve the white world—the upper dog of to-day, and they embitter the yellows against the whites. The next step is to prepare to take revenge. For it will be too much to expect that the patriotic Japanese and the proud Celestials would consent to endure the insults a day longer than they have to.

Mr. John W. Foster, former secretary of state of the United States, says: "Japan is in no condition to carry on war with the United States for financial reasons." Almost all the modern writers of America harp on the same theme. It tickles their vanity. An army official of this country once told me that Japan was not worth the eggs the hens of the United States laid. We hear the same question—Can Japan for financial reasons fight the United States?—almost on everybody's lips; but more rational and certainly more statesmanlike questions to ask would be—"Under present circumstances, has Japan the moral right to fight?" "Given the finances will she fight?" If the answers are in the affirmative, as everybody seems tacitly to admit, then why not go beneath the surface of the problem, why not remove the causes so that war may be absolutely impossible?

The Americans know, the Japanese know and the world at large knows that Japan would have been fighting the United States this moment over the present California land problem, if only she could be sure of financial backing. We know what a strain it was on Japanese statesmanship to allay bitter public feeling this time. The Mikado fell sick at a very happy moment.

Let it be remembered by those who like to live in their own paradise that Japan, steadily and assiduously and with the keenest foresight, prepared for ten long years to encounter the Russians. To-day Japan may not be in a position to assert her rights, but what about ten years from to-day, or say twenty from to-day, when she will have her finances in sound condition, her army and navy considerably increased and thoroughly reorganized? Then again, she will have the actual and open support of modernized China with her enormous population and tremendous physical and moral strength.

It is asserted by many western writers who claim to be authorities on the East, that China and Japan can never unite; that they are too jealous of one another, that Japan is too arrogant and China too proud to make a common cause. In their disunion lies the opportunity of the western nations that have a stake in the East. This is ostrich statesmanship pure and simple. It betrays a woeful misreading of the signs of the times and of the oriental mind. The apparent rupture between China and Japan is only a part of a gigantic *coup d'état*—a most effective means of diverting the attention of the West to set it at rest.

No doubt slumbering China has been humiliated more than once by juvenile Japan. But China now realizes that those humiliations were the best things that could happen to her, and that they were necessary for the realization of her helpless position and the drift of world politics. Young China thanks Japan for the insults, as modern Japan thanks America for the armed mission of friendship the latter sent to the former under Commodore Perry sixty years ago. The virtual occupation of Manchuria and the annexation of Korea are not dictated by lust of conquest but by sheer force of necessity—the dire necessity of stemming the tide of Muscovite aggression in the far East. China realizes that in her present state of impotency Japan is her best friend; Japan, realizing that Russia is preparing to finish the Russo-Japanese war which began in 1904, looks upon a strong China as her natural friend in the coming struggle.

When the time is ripe they will openly unite. They must, if they have any desire to preserve their national integrity. The work has already begun. Dr. Sun Yet Sen spent one month in secret and open consultation with the leaders of Japan and no doubt has cemented the hearts of the two great countries and laid the foundation of the magnificent structure of Yellow unity.

The joint protest of China and Japan, backed by their armies

and navies, will no doubt, if the West refuses to change her stubborn attitude, "menace" the peace of the world for a few months to establish international righteousness. And lo! the spies of Japan are already out; and the Mexican concession of 2,000,000 acres of land on the Magdalena Bay threatens to be a Japanese Philippines (with Mexican sovereignty) in America, with this difference that the Philippines were taken by force from Spain and the Filipino patriots; but this concession is willingly granted by Mexico; for she too has her axes to grind, and is quite willing to avenge the wrongs she has suffered at the hands of her northern neighbor. There is not the least doubt that the Republic of Colombia, in a few years, will be only too glad to grant a similiar concession to China on the Choco Bay. It is not only Mexico or Colombia, but the entire Latin America, on account of a supercilious hegemony and un-American dollar diplomacy, do not feel too friendly towards the northern republic; and within the republic there are ten million negroes who would like to have, as the dominating power, anybody but the whites in any shape or form. Things are really getting puzzlingly complicated; and it is too early to predict how they will end, if true statesmanship on both hemispheres fails to grapple the situation before it is too late.

There is still time for a peaceful and satisfactory solution of the problem, for the yellow races are not by nature aggressive. They intend to live in peace with the rest of the world. If they appear to be pugnacious at times, it is not their fault. It is forced upon them by the West. Unlike the professional diplomats of many lands, Dr. Sun Yet Sen, the humanitarian diplomat of China, without ignoring the presence or possibilities of Yellow peril, most emphatically declared only a few days ago: "The Yellow peril is created by the western nations, and there will be no Yellow peril unless the West creates it."

It is significant to remember in this connection that the following appears in both the Christian and Buddhist scriptures: "As thou sowest, so shalt thou reap." If the West persists in sowing the wind, by the law of adjustment which nature administers with uncompromising accuracy, it will have to reap a sumptuous crop of whirlwind.

* * *

The third group is afraid that all Asia is going to unite to make good the slogan, "Asia for the Asiatics," and to cause carnage that will be of such a character that, in comparison, the previous butcheries of Asia and Europe will be mere child's play.

And there is every reason for the Asiatic peril. Suppose the United States of America were conquered by England, the Central American republics by France, Brazil by Portugal, Argentine by Germany, Chile by Italy, and Peru by Spain; would there not be an American peril for Europe? Or suppose Great Britain was conquered by India, Russia by China, Germany by Japan, France by Persia, Italy by Afghanistan and Spain by Siam; would there not be a European peril for Asia? Most decidedly so. Then is it not irrational to expect that there should be no Asiatic peril for Europe? The Asians are human beings as the Europeans and Americans are; they too have "eyes, hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections and passions," and if they are wronged they are human enough to be willing to revenge, at least to the point of self-preservation. Their present incapacity does not prove any lack of desire; but simply intensifies the tension and complicates the situation.

There are some quack writers on the Orient that can see only ten or fifteen years ahead of them, who look down upon this "Asia for the Asiatics" movement as "fantastic," "grotesque," "incomprehensible" and what not. Little do they understand the problem, for they are looking from the wrong end of the telescope. They, in reality, are not cognizant of the fact that various underlying forces are at work which are accentuating the sense of Asian unity. Let them know once for all that past history is not an efficient guide to judge the future of Asia; that the Asia of yesterday is not the Asia of to-day, and certainly not of to-morrow; that what was possible for Europe to perpetrate on Asia yesterday is hardly possible to-day, and certainly will be utterly impossible to-morrow. There is growing a sense of subtle solidarity between the diverse and widely distant parts of modern Asia and special zones of Africa. This makes the cause of Persia the cause of China, the cause of Egypt the cause of India; and it is interesting that the Irish sympathies are with them all. Those that can enter into the hearts of the peoples of Asia know how their minds work alike on this point. They all are anxious, at the opportune moment, to rid themselves of the European incubus.

This does not mean that there will reign a perfect harmony among the Asian states. There is every chance of jealousy and misunderstanding and balancing of powers. But it does mean, and we do not hesitate to say it, that the time is not far distant when the artificial Anglo-Japanese alliance and the absurd Russo-Japanese *entente* will be things of the past; and a grand offensive and defensive triple alliance between the Republic of China, the Empire of Japan,

and the United States of India will be an accomplished fact. This is the most natural thing under the existing exasperating circumstances. These great powers, trained in the school of modernism, backed by other outraged powers of Asia with their combined tremendous preponderance of population will, no doubt, be a "peril," a "menace" to the land-hungry powers of the West. Then they will declare a "Monroe Doctrine" for Asia and, moreover, it will be retroactive.

Nowadays, we hear and read so much about the "Yellow peril" and "Asiatic peril" that the orientals naturally ask, "Why do we not hear or read anything about the 'White peril?'" The "Yellow peril" or the "Asiatic peril" may never come to pass. The western nations, realizing the danger of sitting on the edge of a roaring volcano, may be quite willing to make reparations which may meet with the acceptance of the peoples of Asia; and Asia with her characteristic magnanimity may forgive the past wrongs and embrace sister Europe with affection, and both vow to be sisters in spirit for all times to come. The real danger may end in a bubble. But the "White peril" is an accomplished fact. It is doing havoc on all sides. It needs no prophetic vision, nor any stretch of imagination, but just a glance at the maps of Asia and Africa to convince one of the stern reality of the "White peril." Just look at China, India, Persia, Egypt, Tripoli, Algeria, Morocco, in fact all over Asia and Africa, and you will appreciate the wealth of the native glory of the "White peril."

Leaving aside Africa, take the case of Asia that has given the world all its great religions, Christianity not excepted, its start in sciences, its most magnificent buildings, its unrivaled handicrafts,—in short a continent which is the very cradle of civilization. In that continent out of its total population of 947,000,000, only 50,000,000 (Japanese) are truly free, and that only at home; the remaining 897,000,000 are half or full slaves. The first republic of Asia, with its 420,000,000 of people cannot even borrow money with interest, from wherever she wants to.

Truly it has been said by Dr. A. R. Wallace in his *Wonderful Century*: "The whole world is but the gambling table of six great powers.... What a horrible mockery is all this, when viewed in the light of either Christianity or advancing civilization."

I for one do not believe in the "Asia for the Asiatics" movement, for it meets the problem only half way. It only implies, to speak in the words of William Edward Hall, the eminent authority on international law, that the states of Asia will have the power

"to do within their dominions whatever acts they may think calculated to render them prosperous and strong." This does not imply their equal treatment abroad. So a nobler and more rational slogan for Asia would be "Liberty at home and Equality abroad." And it is quite fortunate that Dr. Sun Yet Sen thus spoke for all Asia, when he spoke for China: "We are aiming to deal on terms of equality with the West. If we can obtain this end peacefully, there will be universal peace; but if we cannot obtain it peacefully we must obtain it with arms."

No doubt, Dr. Sen is called by carping critics a "theorist," a "dreamer"; but the candid world knows that his theory "Manchus must go" has been translated into action; and the greatest of his dreams, "the Republic of China," has come true. We are living in such an age that dreams, even day-dreams, are coming true, thick and fast.

The cause of the estrangement between the Orient and the Occident is not far to seek. It may well be expressed in the words of Prof. Paul S. Reinsch, a political philosopher of no mean standing. Thus he writes in his book, *Intellectual and Political Currents in the Far East*: "The deceitful selfishness, the rapacity and bloodshed with which Christian nations have established their power in the Orient, the viciousness of their early adventurers and traders, have thoroughly alienated sympathy and destroyed confidence." He strikes the alarm by saying: "If the Orient is allowed to realize the inherent tendencies of its spirit, and to develop along its own national lines, in a life of peace and artistic industry, true humanity should rejoice, for its purposes would be accomplished. The unity of all human life, the brotherhood of man, is the essential doctrine of the most potent religions of the East. Only if diverted from these ideals by continued injustice and aggression by a rude attempt to subject these ancient societies to an alien law of life, could the spirit of the Orient be led to assume a threatening and destructive attitude." There is no yellowism in these rather ominous sentences of Professor Reinsch. They depict a real state of affairs and sound the warning in time. The continued injustice, aggression and subjection are sure to be met with a condition that will bewilder the European and American imperialists and stagger humanity.

This, in short, is the situation as we see it; but there are many, especially in diplomatic circles, who look upon these perils as only the products of "yellow journalism" or "rank alarmism." "There is nothing to it," they say. But we know how sweet the diplomats can talk. There is method in their madness. They want to take

time to prepare for their Machiavellian machinations. They are the worst enemies of the peace movement. The diplomats of Russia and of Japan were the best of friends in their outward behavior, and nothing but suger-coated words passed between them before they met in deadly embrace on the bloody battle-fields of Manchuria. Behind the veil of diplomacy they were preparing for each other's destruction. From the speeches of the king of England and the emperor of Germany on matrimonial or state occasions, bearing on "friendly" relationship between their two countries, who would suspect that they are exchanging spies to steal military and naval plans and stratagems, or who can suspect that the inevitable clash is so near?

Optimism is an excellent thing, but when carried to excess it becomes as guilty as pessimism carried too far. The twentieth century humanitarian refuses to dodge issues. He, as a scientist, stares facts in the face, analyzes and synthesizes them; and then, bereft of all bias or sensationalism, draws his own conclusions. Evasion of vital issues of humanity may complicate matters to a stage beyond control. As a cancer if not detected in time and taken care of in the proper way may endanger the life of the patient, so the diseases that afflict humanity should be detected in their incipient stage, and proper remedies must be administered so that humanity may follow the line of its natural development and grow to its fullest stature.

Now the greatest problem that confronts the friend of humanity is how to transform these national perils into international energy and progress; how to avert the perils from Asia and to nullify the baneful effects of the White peril. Can this problem be solved by the establishment of one religion throughout the world? No; for we see that the white Christians and the black Christians cannot even pray to God, their common father, from under the same roof; and we also see that a Hindu temple is polluted by the presence of a Christian in it. Can it be solved by wholesale mixture of races? No; that is not possible, even if it were advisable. Can it be done by the establishment of one World Empire or Republic? No; for such a huge thing would fall by its own weight.

The remedy lies, as it appears to us, in the inculcation of the old, but most effective, doctrine of human brotherhood. Let it be taught from the nurseries and firesides, from schools and colleges, from pulpits and platforms of every land under the sun. Let men, women and children, by constant dinning into their ears and unceasing appeals to their reason, be made to realize the unity of the

human race, the sameness of its origin and the oneness of its destiny, no matter in what country, in what climate, and in what hemisphere it may happen to live; no matter what the color of its skin, the shape of its eyes and the degree of its cephalic index. As so many instruments are played together to produce the symphony of the soul-stirring orchestra, so do the different members of the human family in their different stages of evolution, representing different ethnic, ethical and intellectual entities, go to compose the melody of humanity.

With the realization of the unity in diversity of the human race and with the eagerness to advance its cause, will dawn upon the minds of the Orientals and the Occidentals the dire necessity for universal peace; for it is through peace alone that permanent prosperity can be ensured. The ideal of universal peace has been slow of growth, but in recent times its spread has been almost incredible. It is being talked to-day by men of diverse nations; it is being written on in the papers and magazines all over the world. The different activities such as the student movement, the labor movement, the international public and private unions, the international congresses and conferences, the study of the different languages of the world, the movement for the translation of books and manuscripts, and the archeological discoveries are helping to clear up the befogged mental horizon of the Orient and Occident. The far-seeing people all over the world are now beginning to see that international, even national prosperity cannot be secured when human beings can be blown from the mouths of cannons, and the worshipers of Moloch are allowed to devastate the fair fruits of peace and industry.

So ardent men and women are being fired with the desire of establishing real peace on earth, so weary with the wars of ages. These people realize the cost of war in money and human lives. They appreciate the apparent absurdity of national duels in an age when individual duels, which affect the lives of only two individuals, are looked upon as relics of barbarism; so they refuse to condone, rather positively condemn the national duels which affect the lives and properties of millions and disturb the economic balance of the world. The peace movement proposes to do away with the national duels and strives to settle international disputes by arbitration as individual disputes in civilized societies are settled in courts of justice.

What a sad commentary it is on the much vaunted civilization of the twentieth century when we see the great powers vying with

one another in mad pursuit after armies and navies—machines of destruction. What a blot on the escutcheon of the nation that prides itself on its leadership of the civilization of the New World that 65 per cent of its national revenue should be expended to meet war charges; while within its boundaries thousands of children, joys of the world, go to school every morning without any breakfast; and tens of thousands of proud American citizens are buried in paupers' graves.

The so-called New World is only a reflex of the old. The New World has not been discovered as yet.

And again, what a pathetic story these savage figures tell!: The annual military expense is, of

Great Britain	$341,820,000
Russia	319,770,000
Germany	318,446,000
United States of America	283,086,000
France	270,918,000
Italy	120,676,000
Japan	92,601,000
Austria-Hungary	87,244,000
Spain	51,367,000
Turkey	48,294,000
Total	$1,934,222,000

All this money spent and energy exhausted when both could be used for the better purposes of social and national refinement. Money is needed by each and every one of these nations for more and better schools, colleges, parks, playgrounds, social centers, and pure amusement places. When public money can thus be profitably invested in such noble enterprises, it is a pity that these nations should be criminally wasting it for the purchase of arms and armaments, so that they may be classed as "civilized powers," and be able to assassinate the greatest number of men, and destroy the greatest amount of property at the least possible cost. The rivalry among the great powers to retain or to conquer political and commercial "happy hunting grounds" in Asia and Africa, and the eagerness to outdo one another are accelerating the race for armaments causing unnecessary nervous and economic waste. Great Britain wants to preserve her present world-wide empire and her commercial preeminence; Germany, boiling over with the energy of her renascence, is not unwilling to capture one or two countries either

for colonization or for commercialism or for both; and it is quite natural that her eyes should first fall upon the British empire that is suffering from a superfluity of territory. But there are only a few good choices. Canada is barred by the Monroe Doctrine; then, should it be India or Australia? So both Germany and Great Britain are busy increasing their *Oldenburgs* and *Queen Maries*. The United States has her Monroe Doctrine, her Panama Canal, her Pacific problem to take care of, so she must invest in *Oklahomas* to keep the "peace" of the world; France is at a loss to know what to do for she too has her colonies in Africa and Asia, so she follows suit and builds *Bretagnes*; so it goes with all the great (euphemistically speaking) powers of the world.

"Is there no end to this insane hunger for armaments, this organized cannibalism of the 'civilized' nations?"—asks the pacifist. Certainly there is. Financial embarrassment is forcing the problem to an issue and, judging from the stage at which we have arrived, we have every reason to be hopeful for the ultimate triumph of the peace movement. It may be that there are human beings who have eyes but see not the glory of "Peace on earth and goodwill toward men"; it may be that there are many who look upon this universal peace movement as a day-dream and a mare's nest; it may be that even the Russian president of the second Hague Conference calls it "the bright star which we shall never reach, though it will always guide us"; it may be that some nations are using it to hide the hideousness of their inhuman greed for gold and heinous lust for conquest; it may be that some nations, to all intents and purposes, want to use it as a means of making permanent their position as the upper dog; it may be that some individuals are being lured into it by the glitter of a few pennies that it may hold for them; it may be that there are professional peace "fakers" who see the "hands" only across the Atlantic ocean, but forget to take notice of the larger one, the Pacific, which represents a wider gulf and a deeper chasm in the bosom of humanity; it may be that there are hypocritical and blatant demogogues who cry themselves hoarse for international peace, but at the next breath show extraordinary passion for the addition of a few more battleships to the navy:—still, in spite of all platitudes, anomalies, and incongruities, and amidst the booming of the cannons, the jingling of the sword blades, the noise of the hoofs of the war horses, the rattlings of the commisariat and Red Cross carriages, the deafening whistles of the Dreadnaughts and the Delawares, we still hear the faint, the distant, but unmistakable cry of universal peace,—a peace that will make men, women

and children peaceful, not that peace of stagnation, inertia or lifelessness but the peace that emanates from life, liberty and prosperity, and radiates human brotherhood.

Here again we are confronted with the vexed question of the Orient and the Occident. The Orient seems to question the sincerity of the Occident in its peace ideals. It sees no consistency between the peace talk and the increased hunger for armaments; the passion for universal peace and conscriptions; the sending of special messages to Congress for the promotion of "rifle practice in public schools, colleges, universities, and civilian rifle clubs," and winning Nobel prizes for peace; on preaching sermons on "peace on earth" and presiding over boy scout organizations.

Above all the Orient is afraid that it may be a *coup d'état* to preserve the *status quo* of the world. A Chinese gentleman of refinement, when asked by the writer a few years ago about his opinion on the peace movement, emphatically declared that there could be no peace in China at least until the Manchu and European vampires were made to give up the power they usurped. When in 1910 Mr. Andrew Carnegie offered $10,000,000 for the furtherance of world peace, a Calcutta vernacular paper, the *Sanjibani,* that does not even know how to spell the word "Yellow," remarked:

"The idea of peace"—I translate from memory—"is splendid, and there is no more peaceful a people on earth than the Hindus. But it must be said in all truthfulness that if the nations of Asia and Africa are going to remain in their present conditions, we wonder what is the kind of peace the world is going to enjoy!" Again, in reply to Mr. Edwin Ginn's proposal to establish the World Peace Foundation, the then secretary of the Hind Nationalist Agency of London thus wrote to the *New York Evening Post*: "As a Hindu, I cannot but view with joy the progress the world is making toward large and noble humanitarian ideals. But as an Indian nationalist I beg permission to record a most emphatic and unqualified protest against a proposal that is dishonest, immoral, and subversive of all true humanitarianism.... There can be no peace until every race now subject shall have trod the red road to national freedom by the ruthless destruction of all tyranny and despotism. Not until there is national independence and international equality can we allow any talk of international peace and the abandonment of the horrors of war."

Even an idiot is intelligent enough to understand that if the nations of Asia and Africa are to be stereotyped in their present position of subjection and humiliation; if the *status quo* is to be

preserved either through "peace" or through "diplomacy" without making reparations or compromise, surely the conquerors, the trespassers and the aggressors are the gainers, whereas the conquered, downtrodden and the tyrannized are the losers. Mayor Gaynor of New York very cleverly summed up the entire situation on March 22, 1910, in a post-banquet speech before the American Peace and Arbitration League, when he said: "The constant aggression of the West upon the peaceful and unwarlike East, instigated by commercial enterprise if not commercial greed, has been invariably in the name of Christianity (the word civilization may safely be added here). We have taken possession of their choicest provinces and their best ports. And now in the progress of time we call for universal peace. Whether it is within God's Providence that the long gathering resentment engendered by Europe's trespasses on the eastern nations can be allayed without war unless amends and restitutions be first made, is a matter for sober thought. Let us hope and pray that justice be done and that lasting compromises and adjustments be made, so that there be no need to resort to war for the redress of wrongs."

Lord Weardale is more outspoken when he says in his essay on "Race Congress": "The West still takes the view that the East is not its equal and, beyond this, that it may legitimately exploit the East. . . . We find Turkey, Persia, and China being assailed from many sides [the honorable Lord does not mention India, most probably because she is being assailed only from one side], the momentary weakness of these backward nations forming the opportunity for the advanced nations. . . . The conduct of the West towards the East is likely to create a new situation and force the Eastern peoples into a passive, and, later, into an aggressive militarism, the serious consequences of which for the peace of the world it is impossible to foretell or exaggerate."

If justice is denied and invitation for compromise refused, then the Orient will no doubt assume a "threatening and a destructive attitude"; and it will be doubly dangerous, for the bubble of Western superiority in physical and intellectual qualities has already burst. The western mind was obsessed with such an idea of superiority, and by constant "suggestion" the Eastern mind was hypnotized into believing it. Now it transpires that military and naval prowess is a matter of education and organization, and the eastern nations are preeminently fitted for both, as it has been proved in more instances than one. The last Sepoy war proved how weak the British were in India, and how dependent they were upon a certain

class of Hindus to keep the country in subjection; the Anglo-Japanese alliance has proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that the British are now dependent on an Oriental nation to defend their Asian possessions; and the Russo-Japanese war clearly pointed out that pigment in the skin had nothing to do with prowess in the battle-field.

Under these circumstances the first choice lies with the West. Let us hope that the West will not long hesitate to follow the noble path of peace and compromise; for it is patent that lasting compromises must be made before the world can congratulate itself on the realization of the ideal of world peace. If the West makes the right choice then it will no longer remain "a distant star to follow," as the Russian prophet of the Hague would want us to believe, but a "child in the home," to soothe, to bless and to comfort.

Then intoxicated with the inspiration resulting from the possession of such a child both the East and the West will launch again in quest of conquests and invasions; this time not for the extension of territory, but for the deepening of mentality; not to destroy, but to fulfil; not to injure, but to help and be helped; not for the greed of gold, but for the greed of human service; and the invasions will be directed not towards the thrones, Kohinoors and treasuries, but towards the treasures of the physical, chemical, bacteriological and other scientific laboratories; towards the workshops of applied sciences, towards the zoological and botanical gardens, towards the art and archeological museums and other centers of culture and education, and also towards the social, political, ethical and philosophical ideals; and the loots of these invasions and conquests would be advancement of knowledge and mutual enrichment.

Selfish and self-sufficient nationalism, and insensate imperialism are equally doomed. We almost hear the knell of their funeral bell, as we see with the growth of the community of international interests, the rise of a revivified humanity which demands of all the nations—North, South, East and West—to set their houses in order and prepare for the coming Federation of Nations, the key words of whose constitution would be, "justice for all, love for all, and for all, liberty!"

MISCELLANEOUS.

ORIENT AND OCCIDENT.

BY THE EDITOR.

[For other articles on allied subjects see "The Yellow Peril" in *The Open Court* of July, 1904, and "International Complications," in the issue of September, 1913,]

How little peace on earth can ever be procured may be seen from the standpoint of the world's politics as it appears in the mind of an Oriental. Different interests and different conceptions will naturally put different interpretations upon special conditions and see facts in a different light. The Japanese deem it wrong that their countrymen are not admitted to the schools of California, and are prevented from holding land there, whereas in their own home they have quite similar laws. They do not grant foreigners the rights which they expect in foreign countries, and this seems so natural to the Oriental that he considers it an outrage that the United States do not submit to the demands of mass meetings held in the country of the rising sun.

There are differences between the Orient and the Occident, and it will be wisest for both parties to learn from each other; but to the majority on both sides many of these differences are a race problem. This is an error, for the differences are between superiority of civilization and an inability to cope with difficulties.

Kipling says:

"For East is East, and West is West,
And never the twain shall meet."

This is a narrow view; it is not true, has never been true and never will be. Goethe expresses himself better when he says:

"Who himself and others knows
Here is rightly guided;
Orient and Occident
Are no more divided.
Proper 'tis through both to roam,
And in either feel at home.
Moving 'tween the East and West,
Surely will with all be best."

And again:

"God owns all the Occident,
God owns all the Orient,
Both of north and south the lands
Peaceful rest in God's good hands."

The truth is that Occident and Orient have never been absolutely separated, and the Occident must acknowledge that its superiority rests upon the influence which the Orient has exercised upon it. The deepest thoughts, the most intense religious ideals, the beginnings of science, arithmetic, astronomy, calendar making, etc., have come to the Occident from the Orient; the invention of the mariner's compass, book-printing, the manufacture of paper and the use of gunpowder have been imported from China, and the present Occident is really the Orient occidentalized.

There is civilization, there is science, there is humanity. Humanity is neither west nor east; humanity is an ideal condition which can be attained with more or less exactness. What we call the western civilization as represented mainly by England, Germany and the United States is not a race civilization, but it is the attainment of humanitarian ideals carried to a definite point which any other nation may adopt or follow. There is one way only for the Orient to meet the Occident, and assert its own preservation and independence, and this is to accept what is true and good, and to gain thereby the same strength and the same advantages as the western or so-called white races in the struggle for existence. Science is neither east nor west, nor is it white or colored. Science is international, it is superracial, and the ideal mankind can be developed from any race.

All the specific race qualities are the shortcomings of the race where they have failed to attain to the ideal. Accordingly the question of the future is not which race with its idiosyncrasies will suppress all the rest, but which race shall attain to the purest humanitarian ideal. The final outcome of the general competition between the races cannot be acquired by bloodshed but by the attainment of superiority. Bloodshed may be unavoidable, but upon the whole bloodshed will be due to the stupidity of rival powers, especially where they do not see that the nature of the outcome depends upon accomplishments, not upon haphazard or luck.

While on the one hand it is stupid of the superior race to have a contempt for their inferior brothers, it is not less foolish for people of an inferior civilization to claim on some pretext equality or even superiority and hiss their fellow countrymen on to a hatred and narrow-minded jealous combativeness which can do no good, or to expect peace on earth on the condition that the lion shall have his quarrel decided before a court of sheep, and that the eagle shall consider himself as the equal of geese and ducks and even sparrows.

The powers of nature expect civilized communities to acquire the ability of self-defence, and it stands to reason that if they are unable to withstand the attacks of Huns or other savages, there must be something wrong with their civilization. Peace is a great ideal, but we must be in a condition to grant peace to our enemies, not to plead for its boon. The Latin proverb runs: *Si vis pacem para bellum,* "If you want peace be prepared for war," and the wisdom of the old adage is not yet antiquated.

With all the declarations of the brotherhood of man, humanity will not make much progress toward a complete pacification of the world. So it seems that those who advocate the peace movement upon the basis of a justice that disregards the factor of strength and the power of self-assertion and superiority, will only be a retarding element and will to a great extent produce the impression that peace on earth is a vain conceit in the minds of good-naturad but ill-informed theorists.

CURRENTS OF THOUGHT IN THE ORIENT.

BY B. K. ROY.

The White Peril.

While some of the nervous amongst us are afraid of the "yellow peril" and the "heathen invasion," we read a thought-provoking paper on the "White Peril" in the May number of the *Japan Magazine* (Tokyo). The paper is writ- by Prof. Ryntaro Nagai of the Waseda University.

Professor Nagai claims that during the nineteenth century the so-called white races have captured by force or ruse "10,000,000 square miles of land embracing a population of about 135,000,000."

"In the face of all this," argues Professor Nagai, "we have been treated by the white races in recent years to tracts, treatises and newspaper articles galore on what they are pleased to call 'the yellow peril.' Surely in comparison with the white races, there is no indication of any peril of yellow aggression, at least."

On purely American problems Professor Nagai has this to say: "Our American friends who talk more about freedom and equality than most other nations, have nevertheless many hard things said of them by their own citizens in regard to their treatment of the Indians and the negroes. At any rate it would be difficult to parallel in any country in the East such savagery as the lynching and burning of negroes. According to the census of 1909 the negroes of twelve Southern states made up forty percent of the population; yet out of $32,000,000 spent in common school education in these states, only $4,000,000 went to the education of the colored people, less than twelve and one-half percent of the total. Nor are conditions better in India, if we are to believe the accounts given by the English themselves of the treatment of the natives there."

Commenting on the policy of exclusion as observed in Australia, Canada and the United States, Professor Nagai makes the following significant remarks: "Now from the point of view of the yellow races all this seems most arrogant and unfair. To seize the greater part of the earth and refuse to share it with the races who are hard pressed for territorial space at home, even when the privilege is highly paid for by hard labor, is so manifestly unjust, that it cannot continue."

Tagore's Idea of Evil.

Mr. Rabindranath Tagore, an account of whose life and work was published in *The Open Court* for July, is not only a poet, but a philosopher as well. This poet-philosopher from the ancient land of India has been delivering a series of lectures on "The Search for God," in the city of London. We quote from a report of his paper on "The Problem of Evil" as published in the *Westminster Gazette* of London:

"The current of the world has its boundaries, otherwise it could have no existence, but its meaning is not in its boundaries, which are fixed, but in its movement, which is towards perfection. The wonder is not that there should be obstacles and sufferings in this world, but that there should be law and order, beauty and joy, goodness and love. . . ."

"We exaggerate the importance of evil by imagining it at a standstill.

But evil is ever moving, so with all its incalculable immensity it does not effectually clog the current of our life, and on the whole the earth, water and air remain sweet and pure for living beings. All statistics consists of our deliberate attempts to represent statically what is in motion, so by this process things assume a weight in our mind which they have not in reality.... Within us, we have a hope which always walks in front of our present narrow experience. It is the undying faith of the infinite in us which dares to assert that man has oneness with God....Evil cannot altogether stop the course of life on the highway and rob it of its possessions. For the evil has to pass on; it has to grow into good. If the least evil could stop anywhere indefinitely, it would sink deep and eat into the marrow of existence.

"Man's freedom is never in being saved troubles, but it is in the freedom to take trouble for his own good, to make the trouble an element in his joy. It can be made so only when we realize that in us we have the world-man who is immortal, who is not afraid of death and suffering, and who looks upon pain as the other side of joy. He who has realized this knows that it is pain which is our true wealth as imperfect beings and which has made us great and worthy to take our place with the Perfect."

Intellectual Renaissance in India.

In its issue of July 11, *The Indian World*, a Calcutta weekly, has a paper on the "Intellectual Renaissance in India." Mr. Prithwis Chandra Ray, the noted editor and writer, is cheerful about the new educational movement in India, but is pessimistic about intellectual decadence there. He writes:

"There seems to be a wave of educational activity all over India at the present moment. An attempt is being made throughout this country to spread elementary education as widely as possible, to add to the number of secondary schools, and to establish universities in all the important centers of Indian population....

"As regards higher education, the mere establishment of universities will not help the intellectual renaissance of our people. The existing universities of India have, of course, turned out thousands of young men to crowd the learned professions and to man the public services and other offices of the land. But they have singularly failed to turn out in the world a decent body of scholars and savants.

"All close students of Indian literature know how sadly it lacks original works in science and philosophy, history and literature, politics and economics, arts and industries, archeology and epigraphy, and perhaps in every branch of human knowledge. If India must take her place in the civilized modern world, her sons must prepare themselves to produce original works in all departments of thinking and compete successfully and outshine if possible, the leaders of western thought and science.

"So far as higher thought is concerned, there seems to have been a set-back in the intellectual output of New India. For a long time India has not produced a thinker like Dayanand Saraswati, a scholar like Rani Mohan Roy and a literary artist like Bankim Chndra Chatterjee....This intellectual decadence has to be noted and fought against."

BOOK REVIEWS.

THE STORY OF ASENATH. Daughter of Potipherah, High Priest of On. By *John Willy*. Chicago: The Hotel Monthly, 1913. Pp. 82.

Readers of *The Open Court* will be interested to learn of this drama which has for its theme the same verse in Genesis as that which forms the nucleus of the early Greek Christian story, "Joseph and Asenath," published in Dr. Bernhard Pick's translation in the August *Open Court*. It is surprising to see the entirely opposite conceptions thus represented of the same characters who take part in the story. In Mr. Willy's drama much of the climax is effected through the treacherous blinding of Pharaoh's entire court by a herb known only to the high priest in the guise of a curse from Isis because of the unwarranted honors shown to the Hebrew Joseph. The last scene brings messages of hope and comfort to the blind, and the emphasis laid on this phase is accounted for in the author's Introduction: "The inspiration for this play was a desire to provide for near relatives who are blind, should accident befall me....The characters who become blind in the play, and whose sight is restored, is a message of hope to the blind." Rights for presentation on the stage are reserved to the author, and dances of the priestesses of Isis are carefully described by the aid of diagrams. The volume is carefully made with the best of type and paper. P

ADDRESSES OF THADDEUS BURR WAKEMAN at and in reference to the first Monist Congress at Hamburg in September, 1911. Pages 60. Price 50 cents.

Mr. T. B. Wakeman was one of the best known representatives in America of freethought and rationalism. For many years he was closely connected with Prof. Ernst Haeckel in sympathy and personal acquaintance. When the German Monist League sent out invitations to convene a World's Monist Congress various freethought societies united and appointed as delegates Mr. Wakeman and Mr. James F. Morton, president of the Paine Historical Association. After Mr. Wakeman's return to America, he, as the senior American delegate, began to make ready a report of the congress, but he was not permitted to see the completion of his task for he died on April 23, 1913, at the advanced age of seventy-eight. The report thus delayed was not published until August and contains as frontispiece an excellent portrait of Mr. Wakeman and on the last page the expression of Professor Haeckel's sorrow at the news of his death. The pamphlet contains, besides the full text of Mr. Wakeman's own addresses at the Monist Congress, his report of the proceedings as written for and published in the *Truthseeker*, and also letters and addresses by Haeckel, Ostwald and Mr. Morton, including also Mr. Wakeman's report to the Rationalist Association of Indiana. P

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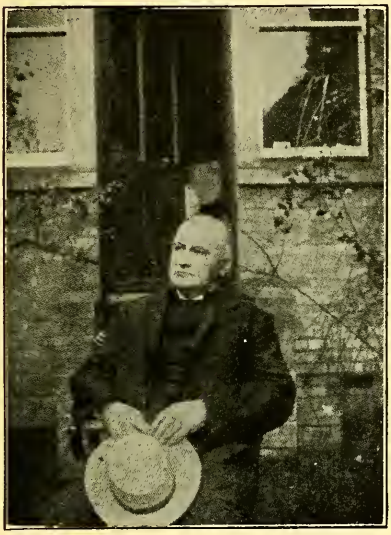

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